STANDING IN A DINEH WAY

# Big Mountain News

IN SUPPORT OF THE
BIG MOUNTAIN & J.U.A.
RESISTANCE TO RELOCATION

SPRING
1986
LATE EDITION

## RESISTANCE DIGS IN

"In a Dineh Way"

"July is next week," was the feeling put forth by Larry Anderson at Big Mountain recently.

As the deadline rushes towards the people, their spirit of independence, sovereignty and resistance is clear and strong. In December, Larry Anderson explained his plans to a national delegation from Clergy and Laity Concerned:

"I'll be standing there in front of the doors of the Elders. I won't be standing there with a rifle, but with the sacredness that my people have taught me, the religion they have taught me. I'll be standing there in a Dineh way."

For nearly a decade he has worked, as a traditional Dineh (Navajo) youth, as a leader of the American Indian Movement, as a veteran of both Wounded Knee and Viet Nam, to bring a halt to the forced removal of the Navajo people.

Some of the resisters trace their ancestry to Navajo families who evaded Kit Carson's genocidal round-up in 1863. "We have our horses and we have food," said a young traditional.

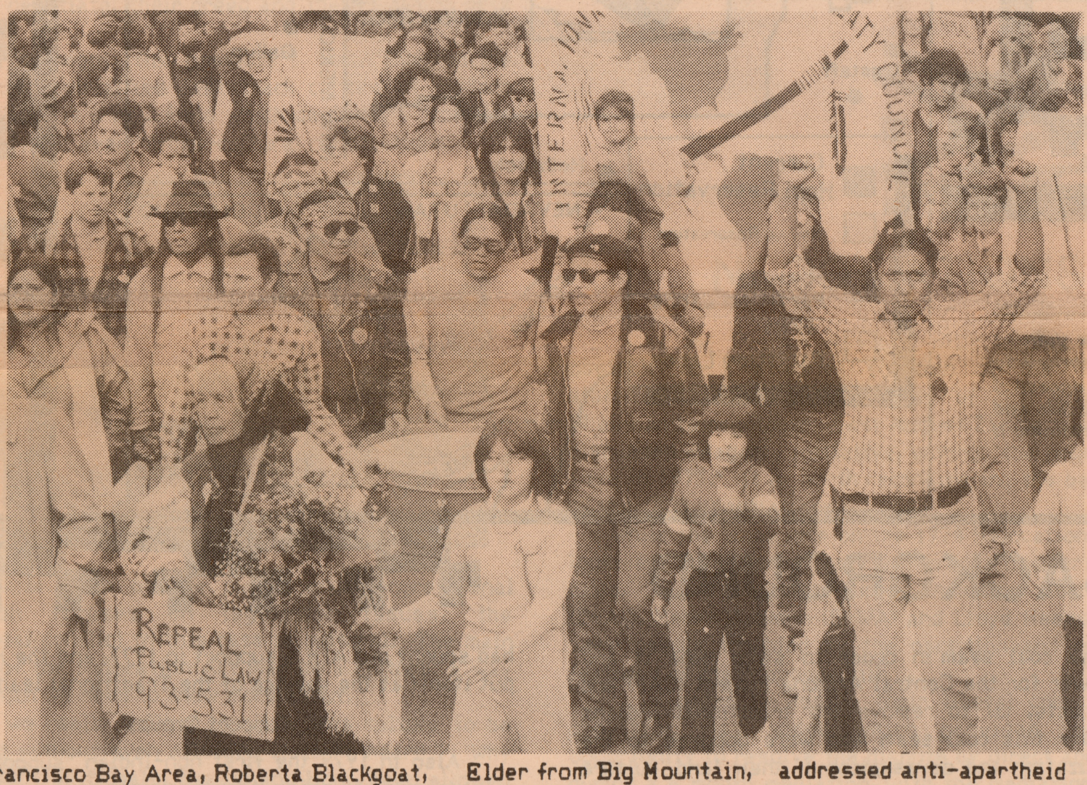
"We'll go back in the canyons like we did in the 1800's. That's how we survived."

"Being able to dig in...that's just the basic survival thing, to dig in to deal with the government," explained another young traditional. "I hope you understand."

### Navajo-Hopi Unity Continues

Even with removal imminent, the Navajo and Hopi continue to stand side by side, never having succumbed to the myth of the dispute. As Thomas Banyacya, interpreter for the high Hopi religious leaders, said in December, "the white man came very recently and passed laws...the government says the intrusion is 'outsiders' or 'AIM'. But the real intruders are the federal government and P.L. 93-531."

con't on page 5



In San Francisco Bay Area, Roberta Blackgoat, Elder from Big Mountain, addressed anti-apartheid events, led a large Big Mountain contingent in the Martin Luther King Jr. march in downtown San Francisco, and was honored at "Living the Dream", a community celebration at Glide Church in memory of Dr. King

## NATIONAL GUARD READY

### GOLDWATER, SIDNEY THREATEN FORCIBLE REMOVAL

What is the likelihood that the U.S. will try to forcibly remove the Navajo people ? Many observers believe that "it really won't come down to that". They should consider the following recent statements.

"I've put the National Guard on notice and they are ready", stated Senator Barry Goldwater in a PBS interview broadcast in December.

"We'll move those people out ourselves", declared Hopi Chairman Ivan Sidney in December.

"We'll have them off there on time", stated Relocation Chairman Ralph Watkins, in Washington, D.C. in December.

The stated intentions of these key government officials collides directly with the unyielding determination of the thousands of Navajo Traditionals of the Joint Use Area: they will never leave their homelands.

Each of these men, working within different branches of the U.S. government, has the ability to call into action armed forces, whether National Guard, U.S. troops, or even law enforcement personnel deputized as "Hopi police", in order to enforce their will. None of these men are accountable to the U.S. public or electorate. (Goldwater is retiring.)

While it is true that other key Congressmen and officials, including President Reagan, have little apparent enthusiasm for such a removal, none of them appears willing to confront Barry Goldwater or to overturn the Relocation Act itself. When Congress attempted to consider just a one year extension of the deadline in December, it was Goldwater, Sidney and Watkins who demanded and won the defeat of that extension.

con't on page 7

## RELOCATION FIGHT

## ESCALATES IN CONGRESS:

## UDALL-McCAIN COMPROMISE BILL

### Big Mountain: Its A Step

Congressional maneuvering on the Navajo relocation issue swung into high gear in February. Judging by the opening moves, the debate will be hot and heavy. Two events showed growing support for halting the relocation, both occuring on February 4.

On that day Morris Udall unveiled a "comprehensive settlement" bill to the Navajo and Hopi Tribal chairmen in his office. The "Udall-McCain bill" was described as virtually halting relocation. And in an oversight hearing at the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior, Chairman Sidney Yates (D-IL) blasted the Relocation Commission for ten years of failure.

The immediate reaction from Navajo people on the land, who have faced removal for the past 12 years, was one of relief that some attention was finally being directed their way. There was also strong sentiment that their unwavering total resistance to removal was the cause of whatever progress was occurring.

No repeal bill had been introduced at press time, although there is reportedly strong interest within the Black Caucus and a number of other Congressional offices.

### Options Shaping Up

With the July deadline looming, the options for Congressional action may be few. A move to simply "extend" the relocation deadline died ignominiously in December, and seems unlikely to fare any better in this session.

con't on page 3

## CONGRESS: Relocation "Botched"

"The Commission has botched the job of relocation," according to the Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior, Sidney Yates. He delivered his judgement at an oversight hearing on February 4, at which all three Relocation Commission members were ordered to appear.

"You have been at it since 1975...and I think from all reports, certainly in the first ten years, there was little done in the way of relocation," the senior Illinois Democrat from Chicago continued. Yates also noted that there was a "groundswell of support" all across the country for the Navajo resisting relocation.

### Consensus to Shut Down the Commission ?

Yates' hearing finally brought into the open the widespread and bipartisan perception that the relocation program has failed in nearly every respect to meet the requirements of the Relocation Act, P.L. 93-531. It appears that at least the Relocation Commission, if not the entire program, is on the way out in the near future. The beginning of the end may have been an investigation released by Yates' committee last March, in which staff investigators could find no aspect of the program which was working, and no reason to believe it could be made to work.

Fiscally conservative Republicans such as Idaho's James McClure have long been opposed to what they consider extravagant funding of the Commission. Last September he introduced a bill to wrap up the entire program with one final appropriation. McClure's bill would have moved much of the relocation program directly under the Secretary of Interior, and the final bill retained several similar features.

The Reagan Administration was so uncomfortable with the failure of the program that it assigned ex-Secretary of Interior William Clark to find an alternative to relocation. Clark reported his findings in October, but offered no hope for success of the program.

Finally, on the same day as Yates' hearing Representative Morris Udall (D-Az) briefed both Tribal Chairmen on a bill he may introduce to "comprehensively settle" the dispute. A key feature was the elimination of the Relocation Commission within 6 months, and transfer of the programs' remains to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

### Commission Numbers Game Challenged

Chairman Yates was especially disatisfied with the lack of any credible agreement regarding how many people remain on the land, facing removal. In the course of this one hearing the number of families was estimated anywhere from less than 200 families by the BIA, 325 families by the Commission, and 1100 families (5000 people) by the Navajo Tribe.

con't on page 3

## CONTENTS

### INSIDE THIS ISSUE OF THE NEWS:

Appropriation Fight (p2), Backgrounder (p2), Relocation Botched (p3), Congressional Debate (p3), **Udall-McCain Hearings (back page)**, Hopis, what they lose (p4), Hopi Roadshow (p4), Hopi Elections (p5), OAS Conference (p5), Violence Look Who's Talking (p6), Internment (p6), Previous Removals (p6), Terror on the Land (p7), Big Mountain and AIM (p7), Sidneys Goons (p7), Internment, Relocation and Apartheid (pgs. 8 & 9), 535 Letterwriting (p10), Support Listing (p10), Follow Up With Your Rep. (p10), Listing of Resources (p11), Pledge To Act (p11), People of Prayer (p12), Spring Gathering (p12), The People Speak (p13), Navajo Chairmans Compromise (p14), Cahn Report (p14), Documentation (p14), Editorial- Time For Real Negotiations (p15), Clarks' Report Released (p15), Failed Negotiations (p15), What is the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute (p16), Black Mesa Alert (p16).

# BITTER FIGHT OVER APPROPRIATION, EXTENSION

On December 19 Congress approved the 1986 appropriation for the relocation program, leaving intact the July 7, 1986 deadline. Debate in the final two weeks grew bitter as Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) attempted to extend the deadline by one year. His amendment drew the wrath of Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ), the Hopi tribe and the Relocation Commission; it died in committee.

Backdrop for the appropriations fight was the Democratic controlled House of Representatives' June approval of a routine $20 million dollar Relocation Commission funding renewal. Goldwater responded in the Senate with a bill in September (introduced by McClure, R-ID) for a one time "final" expenditure of $85 million dollars which was intended to complete the program by the July, 1986 deadline. With Senate passage of the bill in December, the two bills were both referred to a Conference Committee to resolve the differences.

Key features of the final bill include (1) $50 million dollars total funding, a decrease from Goldwater's request, (2) $22 million for the Dept. of the Interior to spend as a "housing authority" for the relocation, and (3) requirement that the Relocation Commission submit a plan for the DOI's expenditure of the $22 million dollars.

### Safeguard ?

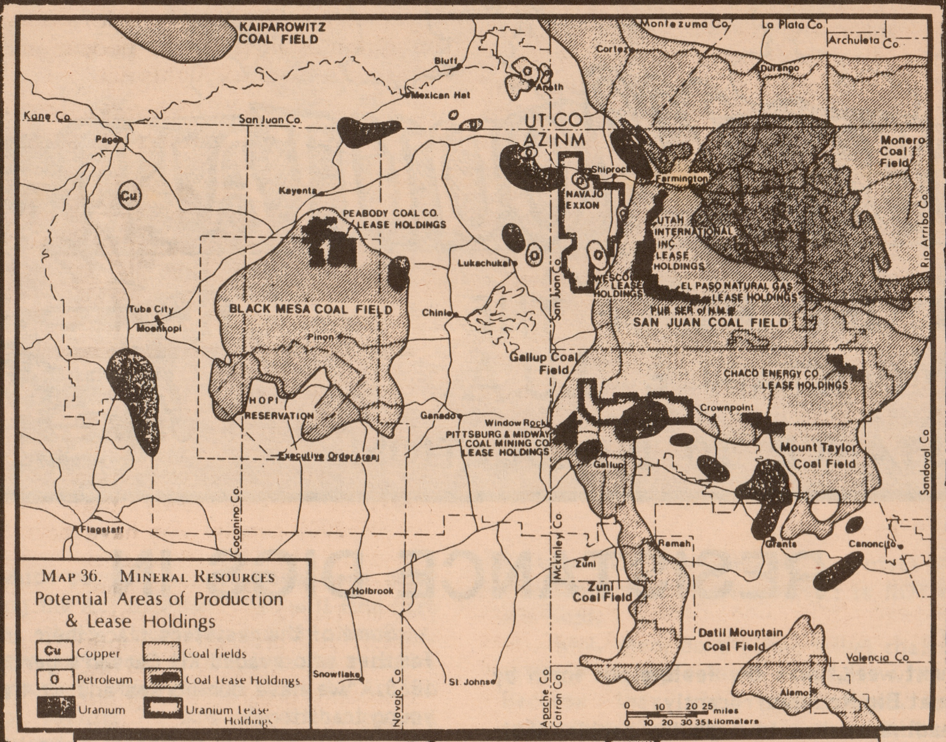
Two other features are the object of intense and continuing speculation. The first says that no federal funds may be used to to evict Navajos who live on the land as of November 30, 1985 "until such time as a new or replacement home is available." This language was inserted by Representative Sidney Yates (D-IL) as a compromise in place of DeConcini's one year extension, and has been interpreted as a "safeguard". Critics question whether this is a safeguard at all. [see "Contingency Plans" story]

The second feature authorizes the Secretary of the interior to "expedite relocation and construction...without regard to the rulemaking requirements of any law, executive order or regulation. Thus while the safeguard restricts certain uses of federal funds, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to "expedite relocation" regardless of any U.S. law.

The bottom line is that funding was increased for 1986, no extension was granted, and the Secretary of the Interior now has a direct role in the relocation program.

***"The American taxpayer is being eaten alive by one of the more unreasonable policies ever pursued by the US government. Over one-half billion dollars is earmarked to relocate some of the most traditional Indians in North America from their ancestral homeland. The forcible Relocation of 10,000 Navajo people is a tragedy of genocide and injustice and a will be a blot on the conscience of this country for many generations. It will hold its place with Wounded Knee, the Long Walk and the Trail of Tears."***

***Leon Berger, Director, Navajo Hopi Task Force***


MAP 36. MINERAL RESOURCES
Potential Areas of Production & Lease Holdings
Cu Copper
O Petroleum
Uranium
Coal Fields
Coal Lease Holdings
Uranium Lease Holdings
KAIPAROWITZ COAL FIELD
BLACK MESA COAL FIELD
PEABODY COAL CO. LEASE HOLDINGS
HOPI RESERVATION
Executive Order Area
SAN JUAN COAL FIELD
UTAH INTERNATIONAL INC. LEASE HOLDINGS
EL PASO NATURAL GAS LEASE HOLDINGS
NAVAJO EXXON
CHACO ENERGY CO. LEASE HOLDINGS
PITTSBURG & MIDWAY COAL MINING CO. LEASE HOLDINGS
Gallup Coal Field
Mount Taylor Coal Field
Zuni Coal Field
Datil Mountain Coal Field
Monero Coal Field
UT CO
AZ NM
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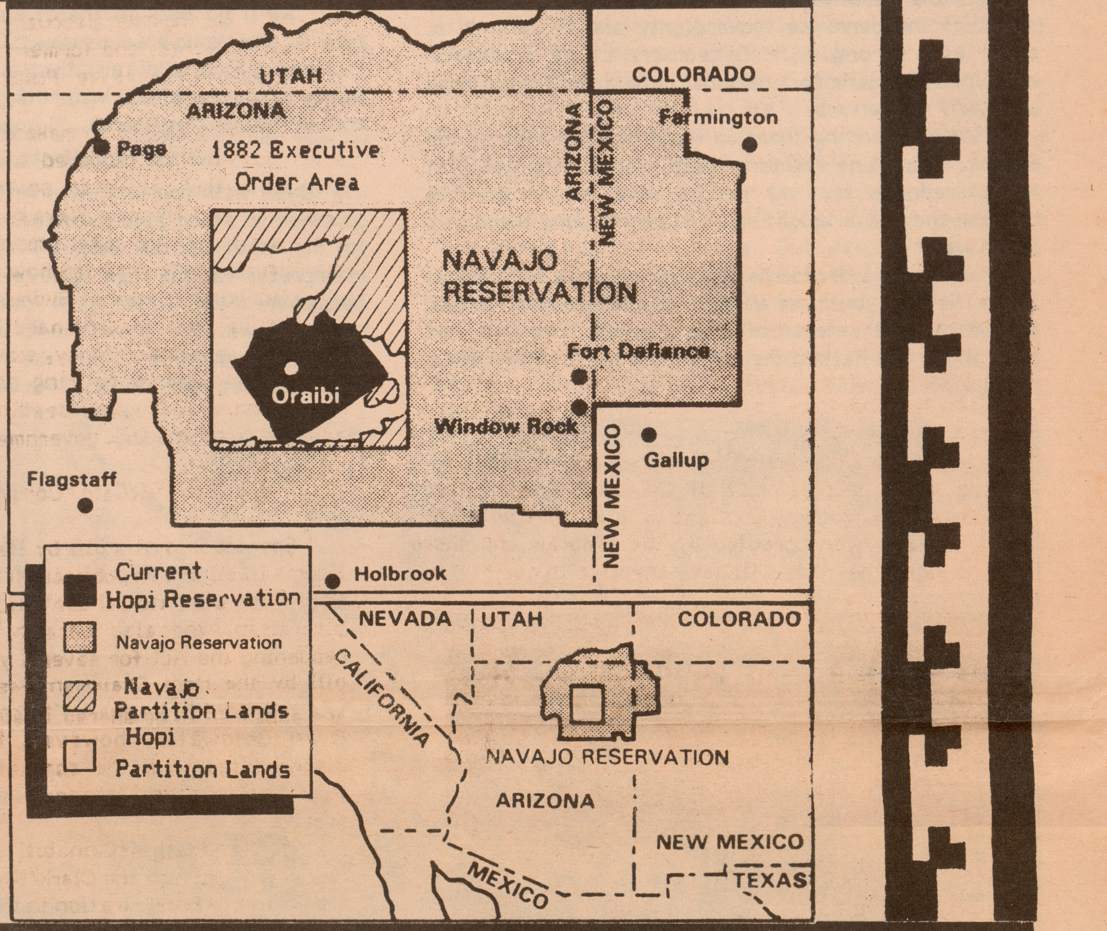
Tuba City
Moenkopi
Kayenta
Flagstaff
Holbrook
Window Rock
Gallup
Farmington
Shiprock
Grants
miles
kilometers


UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
Page
Farmington
1882 Executive Order Area
NAVAJO RESERVATION
Oraibi
Fort Defiance
Window Rock
Gallup
Flagstaff
Holbrook
Current Hopi Reservation
Navajo Reservation
Navajo Partition Lands
Hopi Partition Lands
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
TEXAS

# BACKGROUND

July 7, 1986 is the deadline for removal of more than 10,000 Dineh (Navajo) Indians from their ancestral homes in the Southwest. Their removal is dictated by Public Law 93-531, the Relocation Act, passed in 1974 by a largely misled and uninformed Congress.

The law partitions a 3,000 square mile "Joint Use Area" (JUA) within the "1882 Executive Order" area, constructs a 300 mile fence imposing the partition, and requires removal of all Navajo residing on 1500 square miles of the land. The lands are in the heart of the Navajo reservation in Arizona. A Relocation Commission was established under the Act to implement the relocation.

P.L. 93-531 supposedly was passed to "settle" a "land dispute" between Navajo and Hopi Indians. Several investigations have shown that the "dispute" was manufactured and fought out between white attorneys representing Peabody Coal, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and a number of electrical utilities and coal gasification companies operating in the Four Corners, high atop the Black Mesa.

Within the Tribes this struggle is reflected in the split between the mass of traditional Indians and their pro-development "progressive" chairmen.

### Traditionals United in Resistance

When the U.S. fencing crew reached Big Mountain in 1977 it encountered the literal resistance of the Elder women, who ever since then have continued that resistance, tearing down every fence post and becoming the inspiration for the resistance movement throughout the JUA.

These Traditional Dineh refuse to be separated from their Hopi neighbors with whom they have shared the land and religion since long before the White Man arrived in North America. Their resistance is supported by the solidarity of the Traditional and religious leadership of the Hopi people, none of whom recognize the legitimacy of the law or the "Tribal Chairmen" who act in their names.

### The Relocation Act

The purposes of the legislation were (1) to transfer "quieted title" for lands to the Tribal chairmen so the lands could be leased, (2) to allow access to the massive Black Mesa coal seam in order to strip mine it and supply power for the Central Arizona Project (CAP) and other projects, (3) to remove the traditional Indians living above this coal seam who were opposed to the industrialization and devastation of their land, culture and religion.

The legislation was godfathered by Sam Steiger and Barry Goldwater of Arizona, and literally written by past and future attorneys for Peabody Coal. The law was passed in 1974, in the midst of Watergate and an "energy crisis", by a Congress which adhered to its own tradition of not overruling the "home state" Congressmen.

### Which Hopi?

The entire "relocation" is being carried out on behalf of the "Hopi people". Yet the only Hopi "representative" recognized by the U.S. is "elected" in pathetic proceedings in which that "Chairman" recently received the votes of 908 Hopi people, or less than 10% of the Hopi people. The overwhelming majority of the Hopi boycott elections, which violate their customary consensual decision-making process.

### Trail of Tears Replay: Genocide

This would be the largest peacetime forcible removal of a people in U.S. history and would duplicate in scale and effect the Trail of Tears death march of the Cherokee under Andrew Jackson in the 1830's. There is no difference. International experts on displacement of indigenous peoples have found that such uprooting of traditional land-based peoples literally destroys their lives. The Fourth Russell Tribunal convened in Rotterdam in 1980 and found that this removal violated the United Nations genocide convention.

### Big Mountain Resistance - AIM

It was at Big Mountain that the Dineh made their stand, throwing the fencing crews out as soon as they appeared in 1977. In 1979 Katherine Smith drove them out at gunpoint again, was arrested and later acquitted when a jury could not be formed.

In 1979 the Dineh people of Big Mountain declared their independence, and their total resistance to removal. In 1981 a Survival Camp was established at Big Mountain by the American Indian Movement, under the direction of the Elders of Big Mountain. The people had sought out AIM's support in 1977, and the Movement put itself at the service of the Traditional leadership.

### Support Groups

Also in 1979 the first non-Indian "support group" was formed, bringing together anti-nuclear activists, environmentalists and a wide variety of other persons of conscience working in support of the people of Big Mountain and the JUA who are opposing removal. Presently there exists an international network of nearly 100 Big Mountain Support Groups.

### Investigations

In 1985 the House Appropriations Committee released its investigation of the relocation program, concluding that the program thus far was a massive failure and that it (the investigators) could not see how the program could be made to work. Also in 1985 President Reagan assigned ex-Secretary of Interior William Clark to search for an alternative to relocation. After 6 months Clark concluded that the Hopi Tribal officials would never willingly compromise. He suggested that "other agencies" of the government should develop alternatives which would halt relocations, and provide a "comprehensive" solution to the entire issue of Navajo and Hopi use of lands in the Four Corners.

### The Demands

Key demand of the people resisting removal, and of the support network, is (#1) REPEAL OF P.L. 93-531 to bring a halt to the forced removal of these Indian people. The people also demand, (#2) that those already removed from the land be allowed to return, (#3) that the U.S. government comprehensively redress the complex mess of land issues it has generated in its 100 years of boundary-drawing between the Navajo and Hopi people, and (#4) that those who want to move should be assisted in doing so.

In the face of continuing U.S. plans to remove the people in July, there is a nationwide Mobilization underway to confront and resist any attempt to remove the people. The Mobilization is directly accountable to the Elders on the land.

cont'd from page 1

## "Botched"...

The Tribe estimates that another 1500 families, or more than 6500 people, are now wandering "refugees", having abandoned their homes under pressure of the 12 year-old program. "Congress has been deceived," warned a Navajo spokesperson, echoing charges the Tribe made recently that the Commission was "manipulating numbers" to make relocation appear reasonable.

Even President Reagan's investigator Richard Morris objected to the Commission's estimates, noting that "it appeared to us there were indeed many more."

The Commission's own records show that nearly 18,000 Navajo claim to face removal under the Act, but that less than 25% of these, some 4,000 people, have been "relocated" so far. Several investigations have indicated that, of these, between 30 and 80% have either lost or may soon lose their relocation home.

### BIA Attacks Program

During the hearing a somewhat odd alliance developed between Relocation Comissioner Sandra Massetto, a Democratic appointee, and BIA head Ross Swimmer. Both noted that the relocation program had failed to adequately involve the Navajos who are subject to the program, as is required under the Act.

The Relocation Act requires that the removal of the people be carried out according to a plan developed "in close consultation" with the relocatees. Massetto charged that the Commission, on which she is consistently overruled by the two Republican appointees, is not working according to any such plan.

### What of the Refugees ?

Clearly this is the low point for the 11 year-old Commission. It is down, but not yet out, and a larger issue remains. By all accounts, since 1974 between 4,000 and 7,000 Navajo have become "refugees" due to the program under which their livestock have been confiscated and they have not been allowed to repair their homes.

While the Commission has shown its inadequacy in aiding these people, most of the current debate and hearings also ignore the plight of these people. They have already been uprooted by the program and there are no signs that they will have anyplace to go.

The cost of relocation is human suffering.

## ONE MORE BROKEN TREATY: GENOCIDE

On February 19 the United States finally ended its 39 year hold-out against ratifying the United Nations Convention on Genocide. The Convention was developed in response to the Holocaust of the 1930's and 1940's in which millions of Jews were exterminated in Europe.

Voting against the Treaty was Senator Barry Goldwater, main advocate of Navajo removal under the 1974 Relocation Act, P.L. 93-531. It was quite a day for Goldwater as he also voted against a Congressional censure of the Phillipine elections. He was a loser in both votes.

### Russell Tribunal: U.S. is Guilty

In 1980 the Fourth Russell Tribunal, originally convened to consider the war crimes in Viet Nam, came together in Rotterdam to consider crimes against the Native peoples of the Americas. In the case of Big Mountain the Tribunal concluded that the U.S. was involved in a systematic effort which would destroy the Big Mountain people, and therefore had violated the U.N. Convention on genocide.

Congressional resistance to the treaty came from conservatives who said they feared "outside" meddling in "internal" U.S. affairs. The Senates approval had one catch: the U.S. reserved the right to decline World Court jurisdiction. The U.S. claimed a similar prerogative last year when Nicaragua tried to take the U.S. to Court for its "covert" war against Nicaragua.

> "The way of life passed down to us by our forefathers has been betrayed by the U.S. Government. The U.S. Government has caused disruption to our religion and destruction to our sacred shrines. The U.S. Government has failed to assist us to maintain our culture, land, and religion doctrines. Partitioning is discriminating against Navajo people and is in violation of the White man's own Civil Rights Act."
>
> *From "Resolution of The Big Mountain People, to reject P.L. 93-531 and its amendments"*

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## CONGRESS DEBATES ...

Lacking repeal or revision of the 1974 Relocation Act, it remains likely that the 200-400 families (1000-2000 people) who have been identified as "high priority" by the Relocation Commission will face forcible removal this Summer. Disposition of another 6,000-10,000 Navajo who have become "refugees" under the 12 year program is completely up in the air.

It also appears likely that any continuation of the relocation program will be phased out of the Relocation Commission and turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During the February hearing Ross Swimmer, the new BIA chief and former chairman of the Cherokee Tribe, outlined a "Five Point Plan" to complete the relocation.

Swimmer's ability to make completion of the program seem possible is hindered by several investigations indicating that at least seven more years would be required, and by the Navajo tribe's insistence that there are several thousand more people on the land than the Commission's figures show.

Also working against Swimmer's "humane relocation" program is the insistent hard line of newly re-elected Hopi Chairman Ivan Sidney, supported by Senator Barry Goldwater, who is retiring in December. Both are demanding that the July deadline of the present Act be adhered to by the U.S. government.

### The Udall-McCain "Compromise"

Sponsorship of a bill by Democratic Representative Morris Udall and Republican McCain, a top contender for Goldwater's Senatorial seat, is significant because it is bipartisan, and also because Udall has objected to reopening the Act for several years. Opposition to the bill by the Hopi Chairman was immediate and heated, and appeared to be shared to some degree by Goldwater. Even Goldwater, however, had become somewhat disenchanted with the complete unwillingness of the Hopi Chairman to exchange lands in the Big Mountain area.

The Udall-McCain bill also complies with the recommendation of the Clark/Morris Report, released by the Reagan Administration in October. A key conclusion of William Clark's investigation was that revision of the Act should be "comprehensive" and resolve the Moencopi dispute and other issues. (see "McCain-Udall" story, this issue, for details)

### Why Not Repeal ?

The most common argument on the Hill against repeal is that "simple repeal won't work. It would create a legal nightmare and everything would end up in court again." This continues to be the basic position of Udall's and many other Democrats' offices.

Nevertheless, even the Udall-McCain bill repeals 5 sections of the Relocation Act. The entire Act has 30 sections, only a few of which actually address relocation. For instance, if the first 6 sections of the Act were left intact and the rest repealed, the Relocation Act could be interpreted as establishing a jointly used, owned and managed area, and nobody would be relocated.

Udall's problem, then, is not repeal per se, but how much repeal, whether the Hopi would go back to court, and whether the basic purposes of the Act would still be achieved.

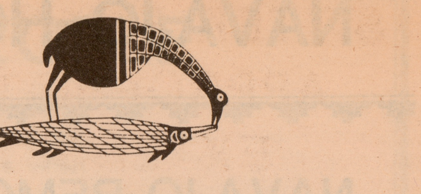
### Big Mountain on the Spot

Clearly driving the current Congressional debate is the staunch resistance of the Traditional Navajo and Hopi to leaving their homes. The Navajo Chairman is satisfied with the Udall-McCain bill, and has shown that he wants the people facing relocation to support the compromise. While at least a dozen communities are subject to the removal program, Big Mountain continues to be the focus of attention.

For their part, the people at Big Mountain say they are glad that "Udall turned his head around," and that he has "taken a step."

They also note, however, that nobody consulted them about the bill, which was at least four months in the making. They are studying the bill, talking with their defense attorneys, and reminding all parties that at Big Mountain they have never acknowledged any right by the U.S. to divide, sell, buy or otherwise settle their land. They note that the U.S. has put itself in a real predicament, and say they are hopeful that the Government can get itself back out of that predicament.

Their lives are on the line. The Udall-McCain bill ? "Its a start." Their demand: repeal the Act.



## UDALL BILL HEARINGS, cont'd from back page

### What's Wrong with the Udall Bill ?

The following are some of the issues and questions surrounding the Udall bill which have been raised by the people and their attorneys:

- The people most affected by the bill, meaning the traditional Navajo and Hopi of the Black Mesa, were not consulted;
- No right to return is provided for the thousands of "refugees" created by the past 11 years implementation of the Act, their disposition is left unresolved.
- the bill tries to force the Navajo Tribe to agree that the loss of land (and the removal) was just. These provisions may terminate all claims for damages under the past 12 years U.S. miscarriage of the relocation program.
- Neither the Tribe nor the people should have to assume the financial responsibilities which belong to the U.S. government for providing relocation benefits and services; The bill requires the Tribe to fulfill those responsibilities with funds generated by mining its own lands, thereby desecrating its own culture.
- the bill still reduces the land occupied by the Navajo JUA residents by 550,000 acres.
- In order to pay the $300 million dollars the Navajo Tribe may be required to expand the Black Mesa mining operation. The current royalties and leases will not generate the money required in the bill. While Udall's office takes a legalistic position that the Tribe is not "required" to keep mining to pay the bill, it is true that the bill locks up the royalties until the $300 is paid.
- The bill also pressures the Navajo Tribe to proceed with the Bisti mining operation around the Paragon Ranch in New Mexico. If the Tribe abstains from the mining, then relocatees are deprived of benefits they were entitled to (from the U.S.) under the original Act of 1974. The mine and its powerplant, located 12 miles from Chaco Canyon, have been widely opposed by environmentalists. The 1974 Act and its amendments have exempted all aspects of the program (all "actions taken pursuant to, in furtherance of, this Act") from the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).
- Joint use and governance of the JUA lands is still denied the people, even though the Healing-Jones Supreme Court decision (1963) expressly suggested joint control. The Navajo and Hopi traditionals, the main occupiers and involved parties of the JUA, are not allowed control over the lands.
- Livestock reduction provisions of the Relocation Act are not relieved.
- Rights of the 60 families gaining "allotments" of "Hopi lands" are unclear. If they waiver at all from the terms of their allotments, the lands may "revert" to Hopi, or even to private ownership. Historically all Indian allotment programs have resulted in Indian lands being converted to private non-Indian ownership and termination of the Indians. Few people believe there are really only 60 families left on the "Hopi" partitioned lands.
- The Navajo should not have to pay for their ancestral lands.

Prior to May 8 the nationwide Big Mountain support system was mobilized in order to press for a fair hearing of the traditional Navajo and Hopi. Udall restricted testimony to the two Chairmen and Ross Swimmer, the newly appointed B.I.A. chief.

During the hearing, three congressmen challenged the Chairmen whether they were accurately representing the concerns of the traditional people of either Tribe. All parties, including Swimmer, made statements to the effect that there would be no attempt to "forcibly remove" the remaining Navajo immediately after the July 7 deadline. These statements were viewed with extreme caution by several observers who noted that the BIA's credibility should not be the basis for strategic planning. For now the Relocation Act is still a law, and under it either the BIA or the "Hopi Tribe" can claim any number of causes, excuses or provocations to justify forcible intervention in the Joint Use Area.

Other legislative options which may be introduced within the next few months include (1) one year extension of the deadline, (2) new land exchanges to leave all "Hopi Partitioned Lands" with the Navajo, to be compensated by other U.S. lands outside the reservations, possibly with some monetary compensation, (3) complete renegotiation of ownership of the Joint Use Area (Black Mesa), possibly involving a "blue ribbon" panel, or (4) repeal. Given the deep resistance within Congress to repeal of its own previous actions, several optional approaches to the "repeal" bill are being developed.

### HOW TO SUPPORT THE TRADITIONALS IN CONGRESS

In order to avoid confusion as to exactly what is the "position" on any given bill, hearing or alert, it is imperative that the communication system in support of the Big Mountain resistance be clear: The people of Big Mountain will continue to provide their own decisions and direction, which will be available from IITC Director Larry Anderson in Fort defiance, and also from the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee in Flagstaff.

It is also obvious that there are real differences of opinion within the Native American communities regarding the Udall bill, and some have suggested that the Udall bill might be the best "possible" settlement. It is also obvious, however, that the only reason there is any consideration of the Udall bill by the people is the continuing lack of a repeal bill. It is such differences of opinion that go into the collective deliberations of the traditional people of Big Mountain, and which result in the collective positions as put forth by the traditional leadership at the Survival Gathering. True support and solidarity with the resistance movement at Big Mountain requires respect for the traditional people's own decision-making process.

**Regardless, the traditional Navajo and Hopi must be heard and must be a real part of any decision. This requires that hearings be held on the land, rather than in D.C. where only the well-funded and frequent flyers can participate.**

# NAVAJO–HOPI TRADITIONALS: Big Losers From Relocation

## NAVAJO REMOVAL WOULD DESTROY HOPI

> "If these sacred lands are disrupted and the Navajos driven off the land, this will signal the 'longest walk to death' for the Navajo and Hopi people." - Thomas Banyacya, Interpreter for Hopi Religious leaders, October 23, 1981 on Eve of the World Peace March.

The biggest losers under the Relocation Act, P.L. 93-531, may be the Hopi people. While public attention has focused on the real hardship of relocation imposed on thousands of Dineh (Navajo), the Act also is aimed directly at Hopi traditionals, comprising the majority of the Hopi people.

For centuries the Hopi villages of the Black Mesa have enjoyed a protective insulation from the intrusive white U.S. culture. Providing this protection have been the Dineh sheepherders of the surrounding rangelands.

Throughout the 20th century the largest environmental threat to the Black Mesa has been strip mining. In this arid climate, strip mining permanently destroys the fragile ecology of the earth's surface. In order to slurry the coal, the life blood water table is drained out of reach of all life forms on the skin of the earth, leaving the Hopi high on their mesas without water for themselves, their crops or their livestock.

Standing in the way of that mining have been two factors: (1) the Dineh inhabitants of the lands above the coal seams, and (2) muddied legal "title" to the lands. P.L. 93-531 would resolve both, by removing the people, eliminating shared Navajo-Hopi ownership of the lands and transferring "cleared" title to the pro-development "progressive" Tribal chairmen.

This final resolution is actually the culmination of a persistent U.S. attack on the Hopi over the past 120 years:

### The 120 Years Assault on the Kiva

To understand what the Hopi lose under the Relocation Act it is necessary to understand what they have, under international law and under their own traditional law, laws which have never been compromised by any treaty with the U.S.

Over the past 40 years the international community has become familiar with the Hopi Prophecies largely because of the work taken on in 1948 when the traditionals assembled for several days of meetings to reconsider the Hopi message in light of the dawn of the nuclear era. A number of traditional leaders from Third and Second Mesas have taken the message on the road to the United Nations, to Europe, Tibet, Africa and all over the world.

Hopi traditional law and belief holds that the Hopi own all of Turtle Island, North America. They "own" it as protectors, and share that ownership with other tribes and peoples willing to share that responsibility. This ownership is not exclusive, except of certain practices which are seen as destructive of the Earth.

In the face of this, the U.S. has imposed the following:

### First Attacks

1870: U.S. developed plans to relocate the Hopi to the Colorado River;
1882: Executive Order boundary reduced Hopi lands to a 2.4 million acre area.
1890: Compulsory schooling, several Hopi jailed on Alcatraz for resisting;
1892: Attempted parceling of land into individual allotments under 1887 Dawes Act; Hopi resisted this program until it was disbanded in 1911;

### The Invention of the Tribal Council

1921: First Indian "business council" established by BIA for Navajo to approve leases on Navajo-Hopi lands;
1934: Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), livestock confiscation; Navajo boundaries and District 6 (Hopi "reservation") boundaries established under U.S. law;
1936: U.S. proclaims "Hopi Constitution" approved after 651 Hopi (of 6,000 population) vote for it; written by BIA-appointed anthropologist, misrepresented to Hopi as a way to (1) receive federal funds, (2) regain lost Hopi lands, and (3) gain legal protection for traditional government.
1937-1943: Several Hopi men operate "Hopi Tribal Council" without quorum, in violation of "Constitution." In 1943 Indian Superintendent declares Council defunct; No BIA approved Council until 1955;

### Mortgaging the Land

1946: Indian Claims Commission Act gives Hopi 5 years to "claim" lands taken by U.S.; Act says you lose whatever you claim, and are given money in return; Act is Dept. of Interior attempt to resolve all Indian land title;
1950: Department of Interior (DOI) informs oil companies that one of its former attorneys (Boyden) is "reorganizing" Hopi Council;
1951: BIA-approved Mormon attorney John Boyden files "Docket 196" claim, confirming extinguished title to all Hopi lands except 640,000 acres.
1955: U.S. recognizes Boyden's "Hopi" Council; Boyden commences filing suits, developing Black Mesa leases.
1957: Boyden and attorney for Navajo Tribe agree to let court partition 1882 Executive Order lands, and write legislation to authorize court; 1962 court decision, however, refuses to divide the lands, saying they are Joint Use Area (JUA);
1961: DOI imposes leasing power on Hopi Council, despite Hopi Constitution prohibition;
1963: Boyden partition bill introduced again, fails;
1964-1970: First large minerals leases on Black Mesa, including 100 square mile Peabody lease;
1970: Congressional Act giving Hopi Council "corporate" authority to lease;

### The Final Act: Docket 196 and P.L. 93-531

1970: U.S. agrees with Boyden's Docket 196, that title to 95% of "aboriginal" Hopi lands has been extinguished;
1971-1974: Boyden teams up with DOI (Harrison Loesch) and WEST (utility consortium) and Evans&Associates (p.r.) to fabricate "Navajo-Hopi land dispute" and again introduce partition bill, for the third time.
1974: Congress passes P.L. 93-531 giving Boyden half of JUA, Navajo to be removed, land titled over to his Council;
1976: Boyden's "Tribe" accepts Docket 196 settlement for $5 million dollars, Boyden's cut is 10%;
1976-present: U.S. attempts to impose Docket 196 payment, Hopi traditionals refuse to take payment; U.S. attempts to implement Relocation Act, resisted by Hopi traditionals.

It is the 1974 Relocation Act and 1976 Docket 196 settlement which reveal the scam.

Docket 196 formally and finally, according to U.S. law, terminates all "aboriginal" Hopi land claims axcept for 640,000 acres, the "Hopi reservation." According to the traditionals, the "aboriginal" lands are still their responsibility, which is why they have protested Docket 196 for the past 36 years.

Boyden's Relocation Act follows up on the Docket 196 concession by attempting to take that same land back, not as aboriginal land, but as "reservation" land titled specifically to the Tribal Council.

### The Phony Traditionalism of the Hopi Chairman

The Hopi "Chairman" has an electoral base of less than 10% of the Hopi people, and presides over a Tribal Council which often as not lacks even a quorum. Nevertheless he wanders the corridors of the capitol, cloaking himself as a defender of Hopi traditionalism, demanding the full weight of the U.S. government be brought down on the Navajo traditionals. What he never admits is that he is bringing the same weight down on the Hopi traditionals.

The hypocrisy of the "Chairman" then becomes apparent. Acting in the name of a people who have never signed a treaty with the U.S., he has served as the "front" for a massive land transfer, one which is legitimate only within the context of U.S. domestic law. The real "land dispute" is between the Hopi people and their tribal Chairman. With the assistance of attorneys who do part time duty for Peabody and Kerr-McGee, he may be winning, for the moment.

> "If this sacred land is abused and ripped apart by mineral exploitation and other destructive activities, this in the long run will also signal the 'longest walk to death' for all the peoples of the world." - Thomas Banyacya, Oct. 23, 1981.

John Lansa-spiritual leader from Old Oraibi:

"And I know that we are trying to express our feelings and the way of life we know. But, it is hard for white people to understand us. It seems like that he doesn't understand even though we have met with him, we have talked with him, and we try to make him understand our views on these things. And we told him not to disturb that sacred mountain. But, it seems that we still have not been heard. But, I know that white man's system of life is based on making money. And he looks to material things. Anything he looks at he looks to in that light. That he just can't seem to understand these spiritual things, things that have to do with element, that keep life in natural order. He looks at trees, mountains, mineral resource, everything, to make money. But that is not the main thing in life that we know."

## HOPI CHAIRMAN'S ROAD SHOW

### Sold Out

In response to the growing public awareness that Hopi Tribal Chairman Ivan Sidney lacks popular support among the vast majority of Hopi traditionals, he has recently altered his campaign for Navajo removal. Since the relocation is supposed to be "for the Hopi people," Sidney is attempting to show that "the people" support his campaign.

### Prophecies as Soap Opera

Sidney has assembled a road show and a new sales pitch which recasts his campaign as a defense of the traditionals. So far the show has played in Santa Fe, Washington and a few other places, but the response indicates the show has not yet gelled.

Sidney's one act drama features several "traditionals" from First Mesa, speaking in Hopi despite their skills in English, defending "Hopi tradition" despite their Mormon affiliations, and presenting a drastically edited (by Sidney) version of Hopi traditional beliefs. The significance of Sidney's First Mesa base is that only First Mesa has ever supported the Tribal Council and Chairman. As reported in the Fall, 1985 issue of the NEWS, Sidney steadfastly refused to even communicate with Second or Third Mesas during his stonewall of Reagan's negotiation attempt last summer.

### Sidney's Vision: The Peabody Prophecies

Sidney's interpretation of his "traditionals" provides a creative and twisted slant to the "Hopi Message of Peace" which has been carried by Hopi traditionals throughout the world since 1948. Those prophecies talk of caretaking and sharing the land, not of exclusive ownership.

Sidney's version of Hopi history has a remarkable resemblance to press statements prepared by a Salt Lake City p.r. firm in 1973 when it represented the Hopi Tribe and a consortium of utilities known as WEST, simultaneously.

In the Peabody Prophecies, as they have come to be known, the tiny beleaguered tribe of Hopi is a law-abiding group of U.S. citizens which has complied with treaties, followed U.S. laws and abided by court decisions, and nevertheless has seen its land base reduced from over 20 million acres to less than 1 million acres. In the Peabody Prophecies the Hopi people have called repeatedly on the U.S. to save them from the "marauding" Navajo, but the U.S. has let them down.

### U.S. as Indian Savior

But now, in Sidney's vision, the U.S. is called upon to save the Hopi from the Navajo by removing them and restoring 1 million acres to Hopi, incidentally making the "Hopi Nation" the richest Indian people in the U.S. in terms of acreage per person. As much as the Hopi might like to relieve the hardship on the Navajo being removed by letting them stay, "Hopi religion" does not allow such "giving away or selling of the land," according to Sidney.

### Real Hopi Traditionalism: the Long View

Sidney's perversion of Hopi traditionalism and its inherent generous ethic into an angry and vindictive vision is sad not only because it degrades a culture, but also because of its demonstration that Indian bureaucrats have learned to speak Orwellian "Newspeak."

Sidney joins the best of the world's "religious" fanatics and warriors who continually wreak destruction on impoverished peoples "in the name of God." It can only convince those who have not heard the true Hopi Message of Peace.

# Big Mountain Shakes Up OAS Conference

Big Mountain Elders and their support workers shocked the 9th meeting of the Inter-American Indian Congress in Santa Fe this past October by insisting that Indian people ought to be able to bring their own issues before the Congress.

Congress officials refused entry to the Big Mountain Elders, but gladly received "Hopi Chairman" Ivan Sidney who came running from Kykotsmovi to beg the Congress not to discuss the relocation issue.

The Congress convenes every four years, organized by the Inter-American Indian Institute (IAII), which is part of the Organization of American States (OAS). The Secretary-General of OAS opens the Congress, and recommendations of the Congress are passed on to the OAS for its consideration.

Meeting in the U.S. for the first time in its 45 year history, the Congress refused to let the Elders onto the floor, because they had "not been officially designated by the U.S. government." The U.S. "permanent delegate" to the Congress resigned in protest over the U.S. refusal to appoint any Navajo to the delegation, despite the fact that Navajo is the largest Tribe in the U.S.

Excluded from the floor of the Congress, the people of Big Mountain participated in a larger "alternative" Human Rights Forum organized by non-governmental Indians from throughout the Americas. In order to avoid a complete split, Congress officials agreed to allow "recommendations" from the Forum be brought before the Congress.

### Call for Repeal

The Human Rights Forum then unanimously passed a resolution calling for repeal of the Relocation Act, P.L. 93-531, and a halt to U.S. removal and disruption of Navajo and Hopi people. Finally the Forum declared that resolution of inter-Indian problems requires"agreement of the traditionalist membership of these nations."

### Sidney's Dance

On the floor of the Congress Hopi Chairman Sidney contended that the "Navajo-Hopi dispute" was inappropriate for discussion, since the Congress deals with "international" and "global" issues, not just "inter-tribal" issues.

Less than ten minutes earlier Sidney told a reporter, who had asked whether Navajo removal was "the Hopi way", that it was the U.S. which was removing the Navajo, since it was the U.S. which "created the problem."

Shortly after the Congress, Sidney flew to Washington, D.C. to press the U.S. for increased efforts to relocate the Navajo.

### IAC : Another John Collier Creation

The IAII was founded in 1940 in order "to collaborate on the problems of the 30 million Indians of the Western Hemisphere." Collier had a goal of "internationalizing" the Indian reorganization which he had brought to the Indians of the U.S. under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA).

Among the goals established ahead of time for the 1985 conference was the participation "of authentic Indian representatives, and not only of representatives of official agencies." A priority issue was the analysis, "in a critical manner of...the situation of the over 30 million Indians of the Americas." And just one month prior to the Congress the Institute stated that it "will bring together all those interested in respect for self-determination."

Oren Lyons, traditionalist leader from Six Nations, stated "this is not an Indian congress, this is a governments congress...the relocation of Indian people from their ancestral lands is a human rights issue...it is something important that this Congress and the OAS should discuss."

Bill Means noted, "these governments have been able to co-opt Indians into doing their dirty work for them...its the classic colonial model." Means is Director of the International Indian Treaty Council.

### "Specialists on Indian Life"

From its inception in 1940 the IAII was promoted as a tool of Collier's mission of "trying to revive Indian nationalism throughout the Western Hemisphere." Yet with no sense of irony Collier could write that at the founding Congress "the Indians held their own sessions apart."

This simple but profound contradiction reflects Collier's persistent belief, a belief which permeates the Institute, the IRA and the Congress. Collier's assumption was that "Indian self-determination" is a matter best left to "specialists on Indian life", such as himself.

In a letter to President Nixon in August 1970, four Hopi traditional leaders wrote:

"Today the sacred lands where the Hopi live are being desecrated by men who seek coal and water from our soil that they may create more power for the white man's cities. This must not be allowed to continue, for if it does, Mother Nature will react in such a way that almost all men will suffer the end of life as they know it. The Great Spirit said not to allow this to happen even as it was prophecied to our ancestors."

## The Monster Slayers

This monster is a state of mind
  which is attacking us. . . .the Dine
To resist this monster we must remember who we are
We must listen to our elders
  to learn from them again and again
The truth of what it means to be a Dine

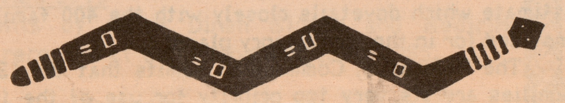
We must grow strong in our spirits
We must think clearly with our minds
We must have perfect health in our bodies
We must always carry the truth
  of the Navajo tradition in our hearts
In this way we will be able to recognize the monster
  when it tries to sneak into and amongst ourselves

If we are strong we will refuse to be relocated
  from our tradition into the ways of the monster
We will refuse to be relocated from our homeland
  around the female mountain
We will not take money from the monster for our land
Because money is a weapon of the monster
  that disappears fast from our hands

We will defend ourselves by refusing to participate
  in the ways of the monster
We will obey the laws of our tradition
We are a nation of Dine
Our greatest weapon is the spirit of our people
And our spirit will destroy the monster
  that has invaded Dinetah

Our war is not with the Hopi people
Our war is with the monster
  that has crept into the hearts
  of some of the Hopi and some of the Navajos
And made them blind to who they really are

With our tradition we will stop the progress
  of this monster in Dinetah



In a statement issued in 1968, Hopi spiritual leaders warned :

"Everything depends upon the proper balance being maintained. The water under the ground acts like a magnet attracting rain from the clouds; and the rain in the clouds also acts as a magnet raising the water table under the ground to the roots of our crops and plants. Drawing huge amounts of water from beneath Black Mesa in connection with the stripmining will destroy the harmony, throw everything we have strived to maintain out of kilter. Should this happen, our lands will shake like the Hopi rattle; land will sink, land will dry up. Rains will be barred by unseen forces because we Hopis have failed to protect the land given us, as we were instructed. Plants will not grow; aniimals will die. When the corn will not grow, we will die; not only the Hopi, but all will disintegrate to nothing...time is very short."

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# Digging in...

"There is no actual fighting between the Hopi and Dineh people," noted Larry Anderson. "But the Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils have been at each others throats because of the federal government and the multi-national corporations. But the Dineh people are still alive, still carrying on our way of life...our ceremonies, our language and our clan system. This is what makes us a nation."

This is why the people have held out hope for repeal. "The main idea of repeal is to put the land back towards joint ownership, where traditional Navajo and Hopi jointly govern the land, together," explained Roberta Blackgoat's son, Danny, who once relocated but now has returned "for good".

### Defending our Tongue

"We have our own laws, from generation to generation, in our own tongue," said Roberta Blackgoat, Big Mountain Elder. "I'm not going to give up, I'm resisting. I want to live independent."

"My great great grandmother was born right on that spot. Its been going on for years and years...I'm going to resist."

**We've been together with the Hopis for years and years. A lot of our people are inter-married into the Hopi people. We've been neighbors like that for years. They are trying to irritate this relationship, to break up this relationship because both tribes are sitting on the resources that are vital to the state, and other countries around us.**

**They are doing it because of the resources, because of the coal and uranium. Selfishness, that's what's causing all this problem. They try to separate the Hopi and the Navajo people. They want to have the Hopis and Navajos fight together. Just like the old saying, "A divided house cannot stand by itself."** **David Clark**

*Five years after Congress divided the Joint Use Area, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Tribes proved that the State of Maine had illegally taken an area twice the size of the JUA. This time, however, the tribes had to accept money. According to Congress it would cause too much suffering to move people off land they had used for over a century.*

Fred Kabotie: "It's a crime to use so many acre-feet of that precious water to slurry the coal some two hundred seventy-five miles away. Money is all right, but the contract is for thirty-five years and when there is no water left there will be no life."

# 908 VOTES FOR SYDNEY: HOPI "CHAIRMAN"

### Nearly Total Boycott by Traditionals

First Mesa's favorite son, 38 year-old ex-police chief Ivan Sidney, swept to a 42 vote margin of victory over Abbott Sekaqueptewa on November 20. Sekaqueptewa immediately charged that improprieties had occurred, and filed a suit protesting the election.

Sidney's victory was a virtual replay of his 1981 victory, in which he built his base at First Mesa, added hundreds of off-reservation votes, and then squeaked out a small margin of victory.

### Traditionals Remain United

Final tally was 908 - 866 in favor of Sidney, with 1774 total votes cast. In a November 6 primary vote, 1454 people voted, an increase of one vote over the 1981 primary. Of the 1774 runoff election votes, nearly 400 were from off-reservation locations such as Phoenix (94 votes). Total Hopi population was estimated by the Reagan Administration in 1985 as 11,500 people.

As reported in the Fall 1985 News, Oliver LaFarge knew in 1936, when he first ordered "Hopi elections," that First Mesa would be the center of electoral politics at Hopi. LaFarge and his superior, John Collier, recorded in their journals that most Hopi traditionals, especially those at Second and Third Mesas, would refuse to vote, seeing it as an abandonment of their own traditional form of self-government.

Aware of this, the U.S. nevertheless put in place a "Hopi Constitution" written by LaFarge when 651 votes were cast in favor of it, despite BIA Chief Collier's knowledge (documented) that a much larger number of Hopi were expressing disapproval of the Constitution by abstention from voting. It is the Constitution that established the "Tribal Council" and the subsequent "tribal elections."

Allowing for population growth, Sidney's 908 votes represents the same sort of "mandate" as LaFarge's 651 votes. At no other Indian Reservation in the U.S. is there a lower voter participation.

Reports of the demise of the Traditionals' boycott were premature. The Hopi Traditionals have once again cast their vote loud and clear, but in a typical Hopi fashion.

The Traditionals are clearly united on the matter of Tribal Chairmanship.

No. This law is not fair. Nor is it humane or workable.

Nor do we consider this law to be final. It can be reconsidered—only if the Navajo people can speak directly to our neighbors, the Hopi people and to all our neighbors, the American people. The law will be reconsidered when it is realized that it must fail—as termination failed, leaving this nation with millions of Native Americans stranded and alienated in major urban centers. This law will be reconsidered when it is realized that the cost exceeds a quarter of a billion dollars (the official estimate—ours is closer to half a billion dollars) and that that is enough to give every Hopi family of four an annual income of over $16,000 forever. We would prefer that money be spent to make Hopis prosperous than to inflict suffering on Navajos. The law will be reconsidered if and only if the conscience of America can be reached.

Peter MacDonald

# VIOLENCE: LOOK WHO'S TALKING

"An armed camp" is how two Christian magazines described Big Mountain recently.

Big Mountain is probably the least "armed" area of Indian Country in the U.S. Guns are commonplace on Indian lands and in other rural communities, where hunting, fishing, and herding are not sports but are a real source of sustenance. However, due to the zealotry of the U.S. government wherever it perceives "resistance", guns are expressly forbidden at the Survival Camp established at Big Mountain in 1981. It is an island without arms.

### Who is Talking Violence ?

Challenged on their sensationalism, reporters for National Catholic Reporter and others arrogantly insist that they "know what it's about" and know "all about AIM." How ?

Maybe by listening to Hopi Chairman Ivan Sidney: "Big Mountain's non-Indian lawyers (are) attempting to stage violence as means of getting media attention," he reported in October in his monthly newsletter. Sidney also told the Arizona Republic in January that "AIM is trying to create fear of violence..."

Visibly enjoying the possibility, Barry Goldwater brags: "the Arizona National Guard will kick the living---out of them, and I might help them."

### The Return of the "Outside Agitator"

In late January the Hopi Chairman demanded that the Navajo Tribe remove the non-Indian and outside support from the Big Mountain area. "These outside agitators" are a potential source of violence, he insisted.

As Sidney froths at the mouth, he provides a strange reminder of the very origins of the so-called land dispute in the 1880's. President Chester Arthur's 1882 Executive Order Area, over which all the legal wrangling has occurred, was established specifically to allow removal of what were described as "white troublemakers" who were supporting Hopi traditionalists' resistance to the U.S. As usual the government excused its own intervention by blaming "outside agitators."

### Deadly Media

Unfortunately the media has shown that it is willing to cover only two "news angles", both of them deadly to the traditional Navajo and Hopi resisting implementation of the Relocation Act. The only coverage allowed on the air is either sensationalistic or fatalistic, and often a combination of both.

The sensational angle focusses on the possibility of a violent confrontation, an "armed camp at Big Mountain", a "last stand". The fatalistic story laments the "tragic death of a culture", as in PBS' "Trouble at Big Mountain" this winter. The reporter conveys sympathy for the Navajo Elders facing removal, but then unilaterally concludes that it's inevitable.

Both type stories have much in common. None of these "investigative" reports are able to find anything newsworthy about the role of Peabody Coal, John Boyden or Harrison Loesch in the situation. And both presume the removal will be carried out, the only difference between them being whether violence will occur in the process.

### The Real Violence

It might be called the quiet violence of an unjust legal system, but the real violence started well before passage of the 1974 Relocation Act. The real violence has been the century-long attempt by the U.S. and its energy and mineral company "constituents" to industrialize the Four Corners.

The Act itself imposes many acts of violence: (1) the 300 mile barbed wire fence, which violently divides Navajo from Hopi, family from family, (2) the forcible confiscation of more than 90% of the livestock on which the Dineh depend for their food, economy and culture, (3) the uprooting of the people, which they say (with the support of international experts on the matter) would literally end their lives, (4) the massive coal mining of hundreds of square miles of Black Mesa lands, converting them into a National Sacrifice Area on which no life form can survive, and (5) the conversion of thousands of Navajo people into urban refugees, the homeless.

The fate awaiting these refugees is one of joblessness, depression, homesickness, suicide, alcoholism, homelessness and welfare. Attempts to participate in the "mainstream" economy will often be rewarded with racial prejudice and outright defrauding of the refugees.

### The Peaceful Resistance of Big Mountain

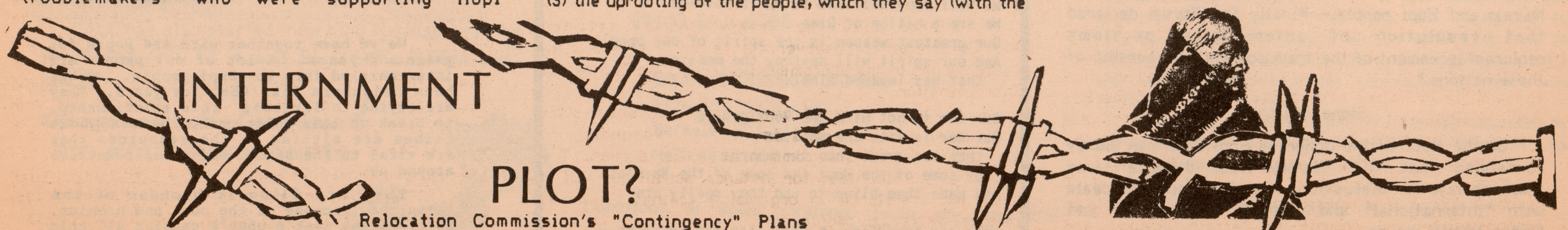
In the face of this assault, judged as "The Crime of Genocide" by the Fourth Russell Tribunal in Rotterdam in 1980, who could remain passive ? Would Barry Goldwater, for instance ?

Cowboys and Indians is an old American Movie. It is unfortunate when that movie runs inside the heads of key media persons and Congressmen. Spooked by their own racial fears, and fascination with violence, they see it in every shadow.

And seeing violence, they cause shots to be fired into those shadows.

Who is in the shadows ? Navajo Elders, many of them grandmothers. These are the resistance at Big Mountain, with whom Larry Anderson will stand in the Dineh Way, in the peaceful way, with whom hundreds of nonviolent and non-Indian people will stand in July.

Bottom line is that there is a real threat of violence at Big Mountain. The source of that threat is the frontier mentality of the authorities who may move against these people. Nurturing that mentality is the ignorance and gullibility of the white media which refuses to recognize a situation of self defense Violence makes "good copy".



# INTERNMENT PLOT?

## Relocation Commission's "Contingency" Plans

The Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission has prepared plans for removal of all remaining Navajo to a massive "subdivision" this year. The Legality of such plans has been challenged by one of the Relocation Commissioners, the Navajo Tribe and the Big Mountain Defense Committee, who say the plans may violate either the Relocation Act or the Relocation Plan required by the Act.

These "contingency plans" may neutralize a relocation program "safeguard" approved by Congress in December, banning forcible removals until "replacement housing is available".

### Secret Plans

The contingency plans surfaced last summer when the Commission's planning contractor, CH2MHill, was discovered to have been developing a "subdivision" scheme for relocation of hundreds of Navajo families. Challenged as to why it was preparing "high density" housing, CH2MHill revealed that two of the three Commissioners had secretly modified the contract to authorize the plans. The third Commissioner, Sandra Massetto, who advocates strict adherence to the Relocation Act, had not been informed of the change.

In planning jargon, the issue has been discussed in terms of "rural communities", "high density housing" and "range clusters". Massetto rejected the planners obfuscations, charging "you can call it a rural community, you can call it a toenail, but it is a subdivision...with 400 lots on it...the people have said 'we don't want high density areas'...they want extended families in rural areas, not high density."

### "Safeguard" Bypass

The recent appropriations bill prohibits forcible removal of families identified by the Commission as "domiciled on the (lands) as of November 30, 1985...unless replacement housing is available." The Commission says the "safeguard" applies to only the 399 families which it recognizes as on the land, an estimate which dovetails closely with the 400 families provided for in the contingency plans.

The Relocation Commission admits that the "399" families are its very top priority for use of the 1986 relocation funds approved by Congress. The appropriation bill is silent, however, on who determines if housing is "available."

"You can't put them in a place where they're not going to be able to survive," Massetto continued. "The Law requires that the plan be designed to minimize the impacts of relocation, and to be socially, culturally and economically in tune with the Navajo, or be it Hopi, relocatee families.

"Your planners told us a long time ago that these bigger communites wouldn't work out there," Massetto told CH2MHill and the other two Commissioners. Commissioners Watkins and Atkinson, who had secretly authorized the subdivision plans, remained stonily silent. Watkins hastily adjourned the meeting 41 minutes after it began. When Massetto raised the same questions at the next monthly meeting, Watkins again had no answers and Atkinson said "I don't understand the question."

The contingency plans were developed at the same time that the McClure/Goldwater appropriation bill was approved by a Senate subcommittee, providing a huge one-time federal expenditure for a rapid conclusion to the relocation program. Several observers have noted the close working relationship between Goldwater, Watkins and Atkinson, suggesting the likelihood that the McClure bill and the contingency plans were closely related

### Internment Nothing New

"Internment" is not a new phenomenom in the U.S. In the 1860's the U.S. marched nearly the entire Navajo population to an internment camp at Bosque redondo in New Mexico, thousands dying on "The Long Walk".

During World War II, 120,000 Japanese were imprisoned for several years, many of them on Indian lands, because of their nationality. Critics of the relocation program question whether there is any difference between these previous internments and the potential implementation of the contingency plans.

### Illegal ?

The Relocation Commission seems aware that its contingency plans are inconsistent with the Act, but, as a Congressional investigation found, the Act itself contains contradictory requirements. Faced with several options, most of which violate some portion of the Act, the Commission (Watkins and Atkinson) is following Goldwater's direction which demands adhering to the deadline regardless of other provisions of the Act.

Month after month the Big Mountain defense team has challenged the Commission about radioactive water on the "new lands", lack of roads, water, sewage disposal, education and health facilites, all of which are required under the Act. Challenged at public meetings about its failure to provide required services to those who have tried to relocate, the typical petulant response by the Commission is "people were promised water and power...they weren't told when it would be there."

While the current homes of some Navajo also lack water and other amenities, those shortcomings are not so life-threatening if the traditional Navajo lifestyle is left intact, including sheepherding. On the "new lands" the result is destruction of the relocatee and starvation. The Commission responds that it doesn't have enough funding to comply with the law, and at the same time doesn't request such funding.

Net result is a plan for internment. As Commisioner Masseto said, "you can call it a toenail..."

# FOR THE FOURTH TIME: Another Navajo Removal

Supporters of P.L. 93-531 portray the Navajo relocation program as the unfortunate but necessary result of Navajo "encroachment" onto Hopi lands. The image is of an aggressive Navajo population surrounding and crowding the Hopi into their little villages.

Such a portrayal ignores two facts. First, the Hopi live today exactly where they have lived for at least a millenia, in their villages on the mesas. Second, the Dineh (Navajo) have been subjected to four removals by the U.S. since the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which the U.S. promised never to remove the Native inhabitants of the Southwest. The Treaty settled the U.S.-Mexican war.

Maps of artifact findings show that the present Navajo reservation corresponds almost exactly with their pre-U.S. homelands, and that the Navajo's close relationship with the Hopi, both in ceremony and intermarriage, dates back to the time of the Anasazi, (perhaps as early as 1200 A.D.)

Within 3 years of the U.S. conquest of the Southwest it was at war with the Navajo, who were bristling at the white Gold Rush traffic through their neighborhoods, resulting in the "Navajo Wars" of 1851-1868.

The wars were concluded by Kit Carson's scorched earth campaign of 1863-1864, in which he burnt their crops, destroyed their herds and starved the Navajo out of their canyonlands. He then put all 8,000 Navajo on the Long Walk, 400 miles to Fort Sumner in New Mexico where they were incarcerated for four years. During the Walk and imprisonment several thousand died. The survivors were released in 1868 and gradually reoccupied the area from which they had been removed.

In 1934 the U.S. constructed a fence between the Navajo and Hopi, under a "range management" program. The Hopi were assigned to a box-shaped area around their villages, designated as "District 6," and the BIA notified 100 Navajo families (500-1000 people) living inside the boundary that they had to abandon their homes. 15 of the families resisted and fought the removal in the courts. In 1972 the government threw out their suits and forcibly removed them, bulldozing their homes and putting the people in trucks.

And in 1970 Peabody Coal commenced its massive strip mining operation at Kayenta, in the heart of the Black Mesa. The mine plan covers a 100 square mile area, and during its 35 year lease Peabody will destroy the homes and grazing lands of the hundreds of Navajo families who live on those lands.

P.L. 93-531, then, implements the fourth removal of the Dineh people, some families having been subjected to more than one relocation already.

Many of the families at Big Mountain say they are descendants of the Dineh who were never caught by Kit Carson. They say they have never been removed and that they never will be.

# TERRORIZING THE PEOPLE

The people of Big Mountain and the Joint Use Area say they are being terrorized.

They cite jet airplanes flying so low that the pilot is visible, BIA trucks cruising the Survival Camp and the people's hogans, helicopters, and the apparent sabotage of wells and windmills and so on.

The government has answers for most of the charges, saying for instance that the jet flights are "routine" training patterns, the helicopters are "surveying" and the trucks are "conducting a census." The government says the people are being "over dramatic" in their reactions.

In the 1960's these same people said that they were attacked with poisonous gases from airplanes, killing their livestock. It wasn't until years later, when the white citizenry of Globe, Arizona, received a similar attack, that the U.S. admitted it had been using 2,4,5-T, an incredibly toxic pesticide, for "brush control" without proper safeguards.

Even if the latest actions are in fact "routine", the question remains why all of these activities should suddenly escalate in the few months just prior to the July deadline for Navajo removal.

The government's position on the jet flights is typical: the Air Force insists it is just running a normal training pattern which happens to pass directly over Big Mountain. Challenged at a recent hearing as to why the flights were necessary , and whether similar flights were scheduled over non-Indian communities, the Air Force declined to explain. Spokespersons noted that it would not change the flights just to please the Indians, regardless of ceremonies or other problems with the flights.

Parents claimed the flights terrified their young children at school and literally knocked the elderly out of bed. Religious ceremonies are also disrupted and the livestock are scattered by the flights. The Air Force admits that it flies as low as 400 feet.

Bottom line is that these Indian people are being subjected to procedures which the government wouldn't think of directing towards white communities. In this case the people under attack are the traditional Navajo and Hopi people of the Joint Use Area, already under incredible pressure due to 12 years of implementation of the Relocation Act. The result is terror.

## BIG MOUNTAIN SUPPORT AND AIM

What is the connection between Big Mountain support and the American Indian Movement ? The origins of the Berkeley BMSG may provide some background.

### The Invitation to AIM

When the government fencing crews went to Big Mountain in 1977, the Elders threw the crews out and asked AIM for assistance in making their struggle known.

This alliance with AIM elevated the Big Mountain issue into a national and international issue, in turn resulting in the development of a support and legal defense effort.

In 1979 Big Mountain declared its independence and total resistance, and in July of 1980 went to the Black Hills Survival Gathering in South Dakota.

### Land Based Politics

The Black Hills meetings brought together Indians and non-Indians around the issue of land-based politics, which in the Americas means a politics which is responsible to Native Americans. Returning to the Bay Area the Indians and non-Indians continued to meet, eat and hold discussions and educational sessions at the AIM House. After several months, AIM posed a question: was non-Indian "interest" in Indian land issues a source of entertainment, or would they take on responsibility and commit to certain actions and struggles?

### Big Mountain Support Group

AIM was adamant that support and solidarity work was under the direction of the Elders, and not in service to any intermediaries or political formations other than those designated by the people on the land.

Out of that challenge came the Big Mountain Support Group (BMSG) based in Berkeley, which since that time has remained directly accountable to the collective decisions of the Elders who meet at Big Mountain. The goal of the support effort is simple: repeal the Relocation Act, defend the people.

Since that time the network of support groups has grown to nearly a hundred groups internationally.

### On Unity and Factionalism

Perhaps the greatest challenge to support work is to avoid participation in disunity and factionalism. Activists new to interracial support work often project and impose their own issues and agendas onto the Indian people, perceiving the Indian people through a particular analysis. Some of the most commonly imported agendas revolve around issues of left revolutionary theories, anti-authoritarianism, feminism, and most commonly, "Fear of AIM."

While all imported ideologies are suspect at Big Mountain, there is a special significance to the "Fear of AIM" ailment, which labels AIM members as violent adventurists. Non-Indian support workers have a responsibility to understand the background and history of the persistent U.S. effort to discredit AIM. The U.S. fears non-Indian cooperation with AIM, as it has historically feared all non-Indian support for resistance to U.S. policies. Non-Indians who uncritically accept the government's story of Wounded Knee are supporting the governments unjustified violence.

### Accountability

While the BMSG does not work "for" AIM, it does work in close and cooperative relationship to AIM, as it does with all organizations and movements with whom the people of Big Mountain work, that being the nature of solidarity with the people.

Finally, the BMSG understands that the people of Big Mountain take their strength from unity, and therefore resolutely refuses to participate in any internal disputes within the collective family of Big Mountain, nor within the larger community of American Indians. Just as the U.S. has no business intervening in Navajo-Hopi matters, non-Indians have no business participating in problems within the Indian family.

## THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

### The U.S. Campaign Against It

Founded in 1968 to provide pride and self-defense for urban Indians, AIM's public image has largely been dominated by two of its actions: the 1969 takeover of Alcatraz, and the 1973 standoff at Wounded Knee.

This public image of AIM results from the media's shallow fascination with sensational news, and also from a persistent effort by the U.S. government to discredit the Movement.

### A Spiritual Movement

Over the past 18 years, however, AIM has shown that it is a traditionalist movement and a spiritual movement, working with the consent and guidance of the Traditional Elders. Since the early 1970's AIM has established international credentials as a substantial political and spiritual movement. To solidify its international work AIM started the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), in 1974.

Since 1977 the Treaty Council has had Non-Governmental Observer status (NGO) at the U.N., participating in the Subcommission on Human Rights and Discrimination.

While the hyped image is of adventuresome militants, AIM's record is one of responding to invitations from Indian communities under duress. The people of Big Mountain, for instance, sought out AIM in 1977 for assistance in organizing against the mass removal of Navajo people.

### The Covert War Against AIM

The government-promoted caricature of AIM omits the guns that were pointed at AIM at Wounded Knee and at the 61 AIM members and supporters who died violently at Pine Ridge in the three years following Wounded Knee. It leaves out the guns pointed at AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash, brutally murdered in February of 1976, and at her friend Leonard Peltier who barely escaped an FBI shootout 4 months later, but then was sentenced to two life terms for the death of the two FBI men who instigated the shootout. Appeal of his rigged trial continues, as does international protest, most recently from the Russian government and 17 million Russians who have already signed a statement citing Peltier as a political prisoner of the U.S.

AIM's quick rise to prominence occured at a time when the FBI and CIA were alarmed by the growing strength of a number of nationalist movements such as the Black Panthers and AIM, and even of non-violent leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. At the same time the U.S. was suffering its first major military defeat, in Viet Nam.

Under J. Edgar Hoover the FBI put into operation a number of projects, including one called COINTELPRO, for the purpose of disruption and destruction of these movements which were seen as a threat to the well-being, hence "national security", of the country. Revelation of these programs in subsequent Senate hearings brought "reforms", but there are many signs that the programs are still going strong.

### Factionalize, Frame and Infiltrate

Basic tactics of such "counter-intelligence" efforts are to: (1) factionalize the movement by planting rumors and misinformation, (2) infiltrate the movement with provocateurs and disorganizers, and (3) set up key movement organizers to take the fall for criminal offenses.

Overall goal of the effort is to "criminalize" the movement, treating its political work as criminal activity. One aim is to deprive it of effectiveness and legitimacy in the community which it seeks to serve. Another purpose is to divide the communities against AIM, and to discourage outside support for AIM or the communities.

Use of these tactics continued against AIM throughout the early and middle 1970's. A typical provocative FBI "trick" was its 1976 distribution of a nationwide alert that "AIM Dog Soldiers" were preparing "terrorist attacks" on the 200th anniversary of the U.S. The FBI later admitted it had no basis for this alert.

### Rebirth of COINTELPRO ?

Recent media reports and press statements indicate that an attempt to isolate the Movement is once more underway. News reports gleefully link AIM to Khadafy, and allege AIM involvement in an "Indian invasion" of Nicaragua, despite AIM's consistent disassociation from such actions. The Arizona Republic and ABC stack these rumors on top of their coverage of the Big Mountain story, toss in "the Russians", and suddenly the "International Conspiracy" is at work in Big Mountain.

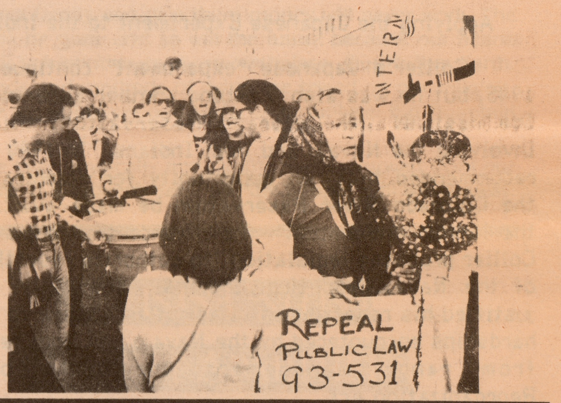
There are two purposes to such a campaign: (1) to confuse and intimidate the growing support by non-Indians of Movement-supported Indian struggles, and (2) to lay the groundwork for attacks, provocation and disruption directed at the Movement and those struggles.

While AIM leaders repeatedly disavow violence and emphasize the spiritual basis for the movement, reporters recycle old footage and rumors from Wounded Knee in 1973, perpetuating misinformation re. causes of Wounded Knee.

Nevertheless AIM continues to be a movement of Indian traditionalists aiding communities which request its assistance, in whatever ways those communities determine.

The U.S. government is scared to death of the Movement's commitment and longevity, is determined to destroy it, and will create whatever stories and situations it must in order to justify such a destruction. As a country built on Indian lands and Black labor, the government is haunted by its own history and its failure to make peace with the people whom it has wronged.

[Recommended reading Wasi'Chu: The Continuing Indian Wars, by Johansen and Maestas, Monthly Review Press, 1979;In The Spirit of Crazy Horse, Peter Matthiessen]



## National Guard...

cont'd from page 1

### Sidney's Goons

Hopi Chairman Sidney has the ability to use his own "Hopi Rangers" to remove the Navajo. His position is that the Hopi Tribe has "jurisdiction" starting on July 7. His threat may not be empty, since Hopi Rangers were involved in several violent confrontations with the Navajo in 1981-1982 while he was chief of those "police."

Those who remember the 1973 Wounded Knee confrontation also remember that Pine Ridge Tribal Chairman Dick Wilson made use of hired "goons" to provoke violent incidents which could then be used as an excuse for forcible government intervention against Indian "militants."

### The Unholy Alliance

Who are their allies ? Relocation Commission Chairman Watkins is aided by Commissioner Hawley Atkinson in controlling the 3 person Commission's aggressive effort to assure removal of the resistance movement. The Commission is itself represented in D.C. by Harrison Loesch and Fred Craft. As reported in the last issue of the NEWS, these two men were counsel to the Senate Interior Committee when the Relocation Act was under consideration in the 1970's. Loesch moved on from there to head Peabody's P.R. effort from 1976 to 1981, in 1982 moving back onto the payroll of the Relocation Commission, a U.S. agency. Incidentally it was Loesch, as under-secretary of Interior, who approved amendments to the Hopi constitution in 1969 which establshed "elections" for the position of Hopi tribal Chairman.

### Six Angry Men

Watch these men: Goldwater, Sidney, Watkins, Atkinson, Loesch and Craft. They have worked unceasingly for the past 20 to 30 years to clear this land for coal mining. None has shown the slightest sensitivity to the real human suffering caused by their law, and several have demonstrated their contempt for any constraints imposed by any U.S. laws. As authors and sponsors of this most cynical and racist anti-Indian legislation, it would be naive to believe that "respect" for law will hinder their lust for a final solution to the Black Mesa "Indian problem".

They intend to make their move in July, regardless of Reagan, Congress or Roberta Blackgoat.

# BIA Role In JAPANESE INTERNMENT

Az. Internment camp was BIA "experiment"

Few people are aware of the Bureau of Indian Affairs role in the internment (imprisonment) of 120,000 Japanese during World War II. The participation of the BIA in this effort was brought about by two men: John Collier who headed up the BIA, and Dillon Myer, head of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) which managed the internment.

It was Collier who in 1942 immediately recognized the similarity between his "reservations" and the internment camps.

Under Roosevelt's New Deal ex-social worker Collier, who fancied himself an expert on "the problems of dependent people throughout the world", had been allowed to "reorganize" Indian life in the United States.

### Saving the Indians

Collier conceived, wrote and subsequently administered the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which imposed Collier's concept of "self-government", complete with U.S.-style elections, on all Indian tribes.

By the start of World War II Collier was frustrated by a Congress in which some members felt he hade "made the Indians a guinea pig for experimentation". And so, according to biographer Kenneth Philp, "he directed his zeal for preserving the culture of minority groups towards the Japanese-Americans...in detention camps."

### Collier's Japanese "Experiment"

Collier's goal was to "handle the entire War Relocation Authority because of his expertise in community living". Instead he was put in charge of 20,000 Japanese at the Poston relocation camp on the Colorado Indian reservation in western Arizona. Collier said the camp would become "a social experiment to demonstrate...the splendor of the cooperative way of living."

By 1943 he was already at odds with WRA chief Myer. Collier "desired to keep the evacuees in the camps for the duration of the war..." according to Philps documented research, while Myer was advocating "dispersal of the Japanese from the camps to all parts of the country in order to accelerate their assimilation."

### Applying the Japanese Experiment to the Indians

Collier's Japanese "experiment" continued until 1945, but he was also pursuing another experiment for the rest of the Colorado Reservation, this time involving the Navajo and Hopi Indians. In 1940 Collier recommended that "an opportunity for colonization of the Colorado River Reservation be made available to the Navajo and Hopi..." To enhance the "opportunity" Collier proposed legislation "to authorize resettlement" of the Navajo and Hopi Indians. Ironically, Collier justified his resettlement attempt as a move to relieve hardships encountered by the Navajo and Hopi resulting from range management provisions of his Reorganization Act.

Net result of this Collier experiment was that 116 Navajo and 29 Hopi attempted to move to the "new lands." Philp reports that "the colonization program came to a standstill after 1951."

### Traditionals: "Mentally Disturbed"

By 1945 Collier was completely frustrated and left the BIA to further pursue his "attempt to internationalize the Indian New Deal." Teaming up with (and marrying) Laura Thompson of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Collier continued his crusade to encourage "enlightened colonial administration that provided for self-government", based on "solid research by social scientists". For her part Thompson, on contract to Collier's BIA, published a study characterizing Traditionalist Hopis as "mentally disturbed", the proof being their "inflexibility" in rejecting Collier's reorganization of their lives. Her work is a standard reference in the field of applied anthropology.

### Holistic Fascism

Thompson's description of Collier's imposed form of "self-government" is worth considering in this era of New Age double talk. "It is an integral, holistic approach which emphasizes both unity and diversity in the nature of things, and which stems from a new concept of man and society in environmental setting...the state is regarded as a positive good which, as trustee of the societies which it comprises, should...foster the development of rich, free personalities...Each society molds the personalities of its constituents..."

This from a woman who views Hopi traditionals as mentally ill, and whose husband's attitude towards Indians was summed up by his right hand man, Oliver LaFarge: "The Hopis are going to organize, first, because John Collier and a number of other people decided to put through a new law...its the hard cold fact of cultural adjustment...the Hopis will accept the Constitution (which LaFarge himself wrote "for them") because....I decided they should. That is the white man's burden."

### War Relocation Authority Takes Over BIA

Collier's ex-boss, Dillon Myer, took over the BIA in 1950 and pushed assimilationist policies which culminated in attempted "termination" of Indian reservations in the early 1950's. While Collier criticized Myer's policies as "authoritarian and racist", Myer saw Collier's reservations "as prisons rather than self-governing communities". Right or wrong, they were two arrogant white men arguing over how to "take care of" Red people and Yellow people.

### How Far to the Concentration Camps ?

Regardless of the merits of either Collier's or Myer's theories on how to manage Indians, it seems apparent that at least some 20,000 interned Japanese became one more experiment in John Collier's continuing "laboratory of ethnic relations".

Whether it is called "relocation", "internment", or "imprisonment", it has now been established in U.S. courts and in Congress that thousands of Japanese were wrongfully detained by the U.S. and may sue the government for damages. Significantly, the Executive Orders authorizing the internment were intentionally worded to avoid references to "detention." Instead "relocation camps" were established for "evacuees." At Big Mountain the government describes its removal program as one of "voluntary relocation."

Once any government rationalizes the deprivation of a people's human rights based on their race, religion or nationality, how far is it from the "social experiments" of the internment camps to the unbridled experiments of the concentration camps ?

# REMOVAL, INTERNMENT,

## Introduction:

**"Reservations are not lands we've given to the Indians but . . .**

Most Americans cannot grasp the seriousness of the impending mass relocation of the Navajo people of Big Mountain and the Joint Use Area.

"Indian removals" are usually thought of as a "shameful" episode in American history, often associated with a brutish Andrew Jackson. Likewise the removal and internment (imprisonment) of 120,000 Japanese during World War II is usually considered disgraceful, but excused because it was a war time, even though federal courts have held that the internment was not necessary. Millions of Americans are outraged at South Africa's brutal and racist regime's imposition of apartheid on the Native people of South Africa.

# APARTHEID, NEW LANDS,

While millions of Americans are appalled at the racist apartheid government of South Africa, many of those same U.S. citizens are unconcerned about the mass relocation of Navajo Indians in the Southwest. While they may have heard about a place called "Big Mountain", and that there is some sort of "relocation" going on there, they really don't know where it is and don't see any connection to South Africa.

They are rightfully outraged at South Africa, where racism is legalized and brutally enforced in order to keep the races "apart", with the Black population totally controlled by the white government. The system is rationalized as "separate development", and is keyed to a "Homelands" policy, under which millions of Native South Africans are removed from nearly all of South Africa and restricted to government-established "homelands". The homelands make up less than 13% of the land base of South Africa.

### From South Africa to Big Mountain

Native peoples have always resisted being uprooted by the colonizers. Key demand of Native South Africans: "No Relocation to Phony Homelands". Key demand of Navajo and Hopi traditionals: "No Relocation to Phony New Lands".

Despite vehement denials by officials of both U.S. and Indian governments within the U.S., the U.S. reservation system shares an almost identical history, purpose and ideological underpinning as Soutb Africa's Homelands. Both systems are refinements of a "reserve" system left over from the 1800's, when the governments had "set aside" lands for Native populations.

Apartheid became the official government policy of South Africa in 1948 when the National Party came to power. In order to rationalize removal of native Black South Africans, the Party instituted the "Homelands" policy.

Indian "self-government" was institutionalized in the U.S. in 1934 under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), conceived, written and implemented by ex-social worker John Collier.

### U.S.: Advanced Apartheid ?

Two differences of note: In South Africa the white government wants both the land and labor of the Black Native population while in the U.S. the government wanted the Native lands, but imported Black slave labor from Africa.

Second, in South Africa the Native population still comprises an overwhelming majority (75%) of the population, while in North America European colonization has advanced to a point where the surviving Native population in the U.S. is less than 1% of the total. Several other "nations" of the Americas are still comprised of majority Indian populations, including Guatemala, Bolivia and Peru.

### Benevolent Racism

Apartheid in South Africa is widely recognized thgroughout the world, and by the United Nations, as the most brutally racist system in the world, and the white ruling minority is viewed with contempt. But the white South African government thinks of itself somewhat differently:

"(Apartheid) provides for full political development (of Africans) including the option of sovereign independence based on their traditional territories" says the government handbook. The purpose of the homelands system is "to save what can still be saved of the Tribal life..." (1951)

In the U.S., "Indian Reorganization" had as its purpose that "Indian societies were to be recognized...empowered and helped to undertake self-government", and "...to extend to the Tribes a self-governing and self-determination." (John Collier, 1947)

And in Arizona, as the U.S. Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission prepares to remove thousands of Navajo to "New Lands", its Chairman notes that "Relocation should be seen as an opportunity for cultural rebirth" (Ralph Watkins, 1984), and that "the New Lands are...for the benefit of the Navajo people who relocate...and (we) must recognize the strong religious and traditional values that are basic to Navajo life" (1984, "Planning for the New Lands").

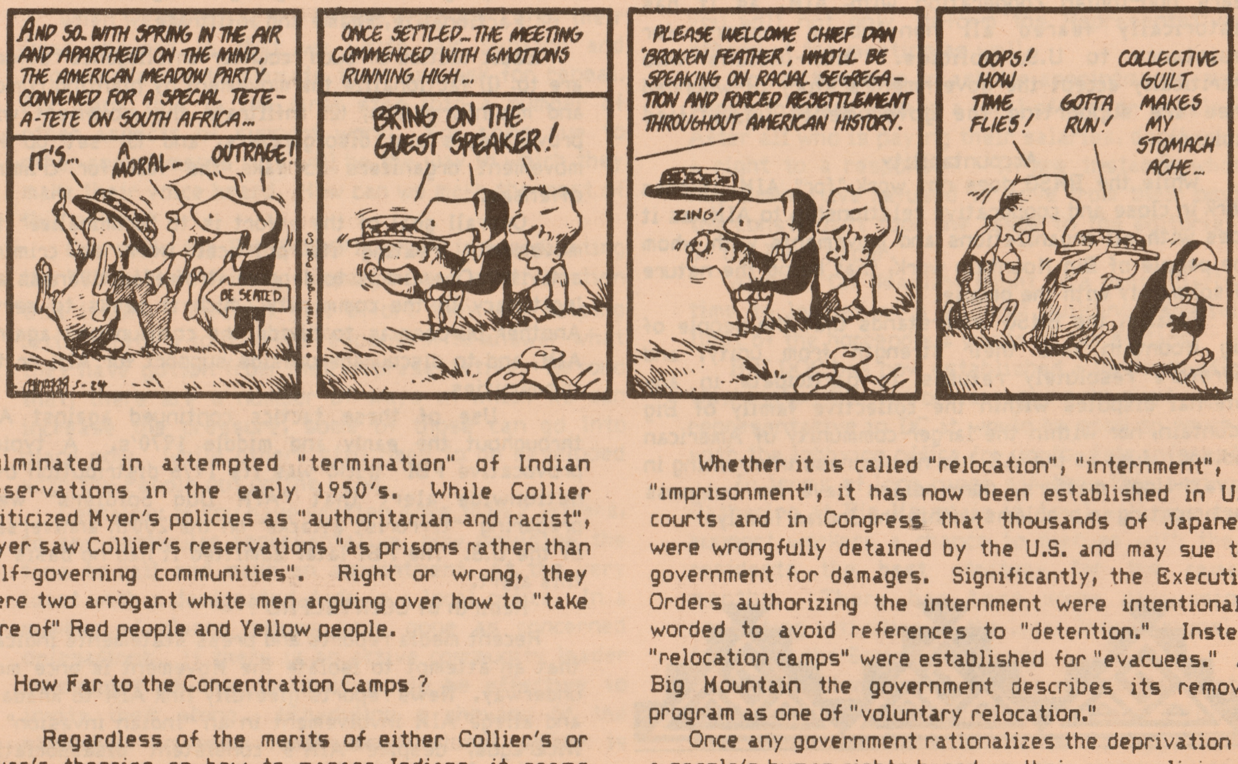
One of the most cynical rationales for confinement of native peoples is "to protect the tribes from each other." Who says there are disputes? "Black South Africans are culturally, ethnically and politically fragmented into mutually hostile tribes...which are being given separate nationhood for their own protection," says the South African government. "The U.S. is implementing the (Navajo) relocation to settle a dispute between the Navajo and Hopi people." - U. S. Senator Barry Goldwater.

As we can see, all of these Native removals, at the

***"I feel that in moving some of these elderly people that we are as bad as the people who ran the Concentration Camps in World War II."***
***Roger Lewis, ex-NHIR Commissioner***

**BLOOM COUNTY**

by Berke Breathed


AND SO.. WITH SPRING IN THE AIR AND APARTHEID ON THE MIND, THE AMERICAN MEADOW PARTY CONVENED FOR A SPECIAL TETE-A-TETE ON SOUTH AFRICA...
IT'S...
A MORAL...
OUTRAGE!
BE SEATED
ONCE SETTLED...THE MEETING COMMENCED WITH EMOTIONS RUNNING HIGH...
BRING ON THE GUEST SPEAKER!
© 1986 Washington Post Co
PLEASE WELCOME CHIEF DAN "BROKEN FEATHER", WHO'LL BE SPEAKING ON RACIAL SEGREGATION AND FORCED RESETTLEMENT THROUGHOUT AMERICAN HISTORY.
ZING!
OOPS! HOW TIME FLIES!
GOTTA RUN!
COLLECTIVE GUILT MAKES MY STOMACH ACHE...

# AND APARTHEID

## As American as Apple Pie

Most Americans would say they deplore all three: the mass Indian removals of the 1800's, the internment of the Japanese, and the apartheid system of South Africa. Today it is in the name of these Americans, and with their tax dollars, that the U.S. government is forcibly uprooting more than 10,000 Dineh (Navajo) from a 1500 square mile area of their own homelands in and around Big Mountain.

The stories on these two pages address the question of whether such removals, internments and apartheid are not deeply imbedded and continuing policies of the U.S. government, and whether the Big Mountain removal isn't just more of the same.

**...remnants of nations we've tried to destroy."**

# AND RESERVATIONS

hands of "democratically elected" white governments, are said to be for the Native's own good.

While we easily suspect that beneath this veneer of benevolence lies a different motivation by the white South Africans, perhaps it is only the distance which allows us to see clearly. In the U.S. the system of "native self-government" was developed by John Collier, who was "sincere" in his desire to help the Indians. However, in forcing his own brand of "self-determination" upon the Indians his work was pervaded by a profound arrogance, condescension and ultimately racism. "For their own good".

By the late 1940's Collier had left the BIA and thought of himself as an international expert in the "treatment of dependent peoples". Perhaps the National Party agreed. Though he said he deplored the racist regime of South Africa, he was blind to his own racism. The post-World War II world was struggling with the issue of de-colonization, and Collier wanted to help. Is it surprising that his rationale for Indian "self-government" in the U.S. would be emulated in South Africa as the basis for apartheid?

Some other exact similarities between the removals of North America and South Africa: All the removals are imposed by white governments and resisted by Native people. All leave white governments and corporations in charge of the minerals resources. Many of the same corporations dominating the Navajo and Hopi economies are also the main corporations operating in South Africa. All the removals destroy the cultural and religious traditions of these land-based peoples. Finally all these removals destroy the ability of these people to pursue an ecologically sound and self-sufficient lifestyle. Their traditional economies are to be converted to "modern" industrialized and consumptive economies.

### Homelands, Assimilation or Self-determination

What choices are left to the Native peoples, on the reservation, the Bantustan or at Big Mountain ? It is not uncommon that a few "native" men will seek power within the tiny domain left by the white government. These are usually the more educated, acculturated, Christian, men who have decided that the "old ways" are somewhat outdated.

The dominant government is grateful when a "native" man steps forward and provides credibility to the white man's imposed system. The resulting arrangement is then described as "sovereign", "homeland", or a "nation" and the white population feels pleased that it has done "the right thing" for its "own" Native people. This is neo-colonialism, whether it is in Africa or America.

However if the Native people are not suitably grateful, then the white government offers (threatens) them with assimilation ("termination" in the U.S.) whereby the Native people are free to move to the slums of the cities and become the new lowest class, unemployed, hungry, demoralized and invisible.

Defenders of the U.S. reservation system note that Native Americans are free to vote and obtain jobs off the reservation. This opportunity may seem hollow to a people making up less than 1% of the population and whose unemployment rate is several times that of the white population.

Then there is the option put forth by Big Mountain, by the traditional Navajo and Hopi resisting removal. Their option will never be "offered" by the government. This option is true self-determination, a demand for respect and freedom to live on and control their own sacred homelands in peaceful relationship to their Indian and non-Indian neighbors.

### A Question for Non-Indians:

The point of this article is not to make Indian people feel bad about their reservation, or suggest they casually pitch out the "reservation system." That would be suicide in the midst of the U.S.

But there is a question which is directed to non-Indian people, especially those concerned about apartheid in South Africa: What about the apartheid being carried out in your name in Arizona? Can we credibly condemn apartheid 8,000 miles away and tolerate it here at home?

In July of this year the U.S. intends to complete the forcible relocation of more than 10,000 Navajo Indians from a 1 million acre area around Big Mountain to an area 40% as large known as "the New Lands". The best basis on which people of conscience can help South Africa is a solid understanding and relationship to their own history, here, within the borders. South Africa and the United States of America are twins.

[reference: Black Homelands of South Africa, by Butler, Rotberg and Adams; South Africa at War, Leonard; The Frontier in History: North America and South Africa Compared, Lamar and Thompson; The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism, Taylor; and John Collier's Crusade for indian reform, Philp.]

***"We will not stop fighting for our right to remain on the land. We want people to know what type of treatment we are getting from the US government. We want the people of this country to know that we have equal rights to any American citizen. We have fought overseas for our country-- we should not be made refugees in our own land."***
***Elderly Navajo Veteran***

# "NEW LANDS" for Big Mountain

Whenever a government decides to move the Native people, it usually tells them it has "new lands" for them. In the 1800's it was "Indian Country" or Oklahoma, in South Africa it's the government's designated "Homelands".

And when the latest "new lands" are found to lie over rich minerals resources, such as the gold in the Black Hills in the 1870's or the coal under Black Mesa and Big Mountain in the 1940's, then the Natives are moved again, to even "newer lands". The Navajo and Hopi are some of the few Native Americans who still live on homelands they occupied before the coming of the white man.

Public Law 93-531 in 1974 allocated 250,000 acres for relocation of an estimated 3400 Navajo from a 1 million acre area. In 1975 federal mediator William Simkin found that at least 520,000 acres were needed for 3400 people. In 1981 the Relocation Commission increased its estimate of the number of relocatees to 9500 people, and by 1986 the Commission's estimate is well over 10,000. According to the Commission's own records, there are some 18,000 Navajo facing relocation, not all of whom the Commission agrees are eligible.

As the magnitude of the relocation has become clear, it has become increasingly obvious that resettling a people who fully occupied 1 million acres would require at least 1 million acres of new lands, and maybe more depending on the quality of the range, water and so forth. To provide less to these people is to condemn them to starvation and to living conditions which are themselves a violation of the Relocation Act.

In 1980 Congress increased the "New Lands" to 400,000 acres, which the Relocation Commission says have now been secured. The relocatees and their attorneys point out, however, that some of the new lands are contaminated with radioactive water from United Nuclear, that inhabitability of the new lands has not been established, and that relocation to the new lands would not allow continuation of the Dineh traditions and religion, which are specific to certain sacred sites and the raising of sheep. At least some of the "New Lands" have already been contracted for a new massive power plant and coal strip mine.

The Relocation Commission has tried to convince the Navajo to move to the New Lands for the past 11 years, with no perceptible success, and now faces the option of forcibly removing them to the new sites this July. [see "Contingency Plans" story] There is nothing "new" about the latest "new lands" scam.

We feel that there is no other land like ours. So we want to remain.

# Big Mountain and South Africa Movements: WORKING TOGETHER

January of 1986 saw a strengthening of the partnership between the movements to stop apartheid in South Africa and to stop forced relocation from Big Mountain. Both movements are in support of Native peoples' resistance to attempts by a white government to remove them from their ancestral lands.

At La Pena Cultural Center in Berkeley, Bill Wahpepah, head of the International Indian Treaty Council on the West Coast challenged the audience: "How can you say 'Free Nelson Mandela' and not say 'Free Leonard Peltier'? How can you call for an end to apartheid in South Africa and not call for an end to apartheid in Arizona ? I say yes, free Nelson Mandela, and yes, free Leonard Peltier" [Peltier is an American Indian Movement leader jailed ten years ago following a shoot-out at the Pine Ridge Reservation resulting from an assault by FBI agents.]

In recent months the governments of Russia and South Africa have both challenged the U.S. for its treatment of its Native peoples. The challenges have come as a direct result of the escalation of the issues of disarmament, human rights and apartheid onto the international agenda. Native Americans have always insisted that their issues are international, and it appears that the apartheid issue may force more than one government to come to terms with its Native people.

HELP
THE NAVAJO
KEEP
THEIR LAND

*Resolution of the Big Mountain People*

"Money is useful if respected, but it cannot replace what we would lose if we 'relocate' like the White man is asking us to do. To uproot a family and give them money will never work. The money will be gone and so will the future because our hearts will be left behind forever at our birthplace. Our Mother Earth, our legends and methods of living are based on our religion. Therefore we will never part with our birthplace: Big Mountain area.

"If we are ever physically and destructively removed from our land by the U.S. Government, we, the people, will waste away.

# ARTISTS UNITED AGAINST APARTHEID

During the summer of 1985 some 54 musicians from six continents came together to record an album called "Sun City". Miles Davis, Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen and Bob Geldof were among those pitching in. Their purpose was to raise money and consciousness in order to bring to an end the ghastly system of racism and injustice the South African government calls apartheid.

Sun City is a glittery showcase resort invented by the South African government in order to convince the "outside world" that all is well in South Africa. A U.N. sponsored boycott of Sun City has been in place for several years.

Inspiring, organizing and producing this effort was Steven Van Zandt, known as Little Steven in the world of rock and blues where he is a star in his own right at well as Bruce Springsteen's main side man. In 1985 Little Steven visited Big Mountain. Steven recently released the following statement:

> The forced relocation of Native Americans is one of the most urgent and serious issues of our time.
>
> Those of us working against the apartheid system of institutionalized racism in South Africa must also speak out against the equally appalling injustices against our own indigenous people for which we are even more responsible.
>
> The ongoing immoral and criminal treatment of our Native Americans is something all Americans must take responsibility for and use every effort to change.
>
> I urge everyone to come to the defense of the Dineh (Navajo) and Hopi people of Big Mountain, Arizona, and to support Native American traditions and autonomy wherever possible.
>
> Solidarity,
>
> Little Steven Van Zandt
> Artists United Against Apartheid
> New York City

[ed. note: Hawley Atkinson was chairman of the Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission for several years, and is the only one of the three present commissioners to have served the entire 11 years. Mr. Atkinson is from Sun City, Arizona.]

# 535 LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN TAKES HOLD

Hundreds have committed themselves to challenging Congress to take a stand on Public Law 93-531. The national "535 Campaign" is an effort to coordinate the level of letter writing, so that each of the 100 Senators and 435 Representatives in Congress are in communication with their constituents regarding the massive Indian removal now underway in the Southwest. The basic approach is for individuals in each of Districts represented by these 535 Congresspeople to take responsibility for writing letters, following up with phone calls, meetings and so on, in order to get their representative to take a position, and to correct that position if it is in error.

Repeal is not a popular idea in Congress. These offices need to be made aware that (1) the relocation program just plain can't work, regardless of whether one agrees with it or not, (2) that the controversy over this issue is a national concern and should not be routinely deferred to the "Arizona boys", (3) solution to the land dispute (if there is one) by removal of these people implements a racist double standard never before applied to an Indian land claim, (4) the removal would put thousands of Native Americans on the welfare rolls, at a cost now estimated to exceed 1 billion dollars as opposed to the intial estimate of $29 million dollars, and (5) 11 years after passage of this Relocation Act, there is still "No Place to Go" for these thousands of Navajo,(6) any attempt at a compromise without the imput of the Traditional viewpoint will fail to address the issue at hand. Check the NEWS for other relevant information.

Letter writing does work, especially if we follow up on the letters. There is no doubt that the Relocation Act will be before Congress from now until next summer, at least. This is undeniably a situation in which education can result in a change in the law, especially now that there is a clear and overwhelming preponderance of evidence that the relocation program just plain can't work. The law can be repealed if there is enough demand from the public.

We have found that most Congressional offices are inclined to respond to constituent letters with a form letter summarizing the situation - usually inaccurately, thanking the letter writer and promising to stay in touch. In order to get beyond this response it is best to ask specific, direct questions that require an individualized response.

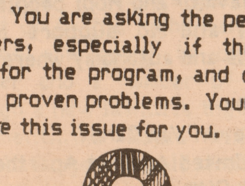
Write individual and personal letters, call or meet your individual representatives, find out who on their staff is covering the issue and establish regular communications with that staff person. IMPORTANT: do write follow up letters and insist on response - this keeps the discussion "on the record". The BMLD/OC office will help you analyze and respond to the replies you receive, and provide supporting documentation as needed. Please send a copy of your letter and any responses to BMLD/OC.

Questions to be asked of Congress :

* Where do you stand on the relocation of more than 10,000 Navajo under P.L. 93-531 ?
* A recent study done for the House Appropriations Committee concluded that the program is not working - has your office studied this report ? Reaction ?
* Why are Indians being removed under this "dispute", when nobody has been removed to settle any other Indian land claims ? Is it because in the other claims it would have been white people moved ? Isn't this a racist double standard ?

* Does your office feel the program can be made to work ? How ? Why would those "fixes" be effective ?
* 50% of the families relocating to such places as Flagstaff have already lost their homes, often due to fraud - what should be done about that ?
* P.L. 93-531 requires that relocation take place with "minimum adverse impact". Doesn't the massive failure rate of the program indicate that the program itself is violating the law ?
* Estimates of the cost and magnitude of the relocation have increased by factors of 8 - 20 times; doesn't this indicate the entire program should be reconsidered ?
* How does this removal differ from those of the 1830s, such as the Trail of Tears in Georgia in which 17,000 Indians were removed from Georgia ?
* Manuel Lujan (R-NM) has testified that "even Russia treats its people better...at least they know they're going to Siberia." Is he right ?
* Even if there was a dispute between the Navajo and Hopi (Tribal Councils), would it be appropriate for the U.S. government to impose this program ?

**REMEMBER** : you don't have to have the answers to these questions. You are asking the people who should have the answers, especially if they continue to approve funding for the program, and don't take steps to respond to the proven problems. Your representative should investigate this issue for you.



# IN YOUR AREA

The number of individuals and groups expressing a desire to support the Dineh and Hopi in their efforts to repeal P.L. 93-531 grows daily below is printed a current support list. If you know of one that does not appear contact BMLDOC/Flagstaff or BMSG/Berkeley, these two groups are in communication so that both have the most uptodate listing. This listing is used to network people within regions when we respond to individual requests.

Because of the speed at which things are moving and will no doubt continue to move in the months ahead, the importance of being in touch with BMLDOC directly or through a local support group CANNOT be underemphasised. Each of us has our own limits of time and energy, the purpose of this listing is to provide people with a local network to work with. Now is the time to work even closer together so that we can respond to developments as the people on the Land want it.

TUCSON/Casa Maria 401 E26th Tucson, AZ 85208
Univ. of Arizona/BMSG 1005 N Arizona Ave. Tucson, AZ 85705
Native American Support Group PO Box 8260 Santa Cruz, CA 95061
BERKELEY BMSG 1412 Cypress St. Berkeley, CA 94703
CHICO (Geane Dunning) Box 4444 Chico, CA 95927
Sonoma Co Native Support Box 809 Cotati, CA 94928
EPIC Box 377 Garberville, CA 95440
Mendocino Big Mtn Tsk Frce Box 1063 Mendocino, CA 95410
San Jose Peace Grp 520 S. 10th Street San Jose, CA 95112
Santa Barbara BMSG Box 65 Santa Ynez, CA 93460
Los Ang. BMSG 1354 W. Washington Blvd Venice, CA 90291
Ventura BMSG 100 Harding Ventura, CA 93003
Weed BMSG (Janet Bilden) 335 E. Lake St #3 Weed, CA 96094
Boulder BMSG Campus Box 146 Boulder, CO 80309
Indig Wk Grp/BMSG 1310 College Ave #1044 Boulder, CO 80302
Durango BMSG 404 E. Park Ave Durango, CO 81301
Este-Omzilka Support Grp 1360 Febway Cr Decatur, GA 30030
Chicago BMSG 155 N. Harbor Dr #2307 Chicago, IL 60601
Merrillville BMSG 5970 Fillmore Pl Merrillville, IN 46410
Survival Network/BMSG Box 6130 Kansas City, KS 66106
New Orleans BMSG Box 70313 New Orleans, LA 70117
Boston BMSG Harbor Campus Boston, MA 02125
New England BMSG Box 8045 Boston, MA 02114
Eastern Mass BMSG 35 Fairlee Rd Waban, MA 02168
Union BMSG(Barbara Robidoux) RD 2 Box 334 Union, ME 04862
Minneapolis BMSG/LPSG Box 7409 Minneapolis, MN 55407
Northern Sun Alliance 1519 Franklin Minneapolis, MN 55404
Drury-Ozarks BMSG Box 129 Drury, MO 65638
Victor BMSG (D. Golas) 400 Moose Hollow Victor, MT 59875
Hancock BMSG (Amy Markus) Old Dublin Rd Hancock, NH 03449
Santa Fe BMSG Rt 4, Box 17-C Santa Fe, NM 87501
Buffalo BMSG 18 Stanislaus Buffalo, NY 14212
Ithaca LPSG/BMSG Box 267 Ithaca, NY 14851
United Tribes Cultural Ctr Box 24235 Columbus, OH 43224
Native American Ctr/BMSG 2900 S. Harvey Oklahoma Cty, OK 73109
Breitenbus BMSG Box 578 Detroit, OR 97342
Eugene BMSG 1236 Kincaid St Eugene, OR 97401
Oregon Greens/BMSG 907 River rd #58 Eugene, OR 97404
ANPO Cultural Ctr Box 66503 Portland, OR 97266
Portland BMSG Box 42640 Portland, OR 97242
Pawtucket BMSG(Steve Karpovich)84 Rosemont Av Pawtucket, RI 02861
Mid-Tennessee Indian Lodge 5276 Waldron Circle Lavergne, TN 37086
Working Horse Rte 2, Box 46 San Marcos, TX 78666
Whatcom Co BMSG 6173 Jupiter PLace Ferndale, WA 98248
Olympia BMSG Box 10234 Olympia, WA 98507
Freedom Fund 1500 East Spruce Seattle, WA 98122
Women for Big Mountain 9714 Wallingford N. Seattle, WA 98103
NW Indian Womens Circle/BMSG Box 8279 Tacoma, WA 98404
Tonasket BMSG Box 874 Tonasket, WA 98855

International support is also being developed and growing rapidly, from Germany and India. International support is being coordinated through the BMLDOC/Flagstaff. The eyes and concience of the world are turning towards this issue.

# FOLLOW UP YOUR LETTER

When we listen to the People from the Land, their first request is that we write our Senator and Representative to educate them and ask for repeal. For many this is the first step into a number of other aspects of support work. For some due to other commitments this will be the way in which they make their voice heard. How can we make the most of this effort?

Currently the BMLDOC/Flagstaff is coordinating the 535 Letter Writing campaign ( see other section this issue), Through this effort they are helping letter writers to develop responses, to answer what they have gotten from their representative. Beyond that, there are a number of ways in which we can increase the pressure, some of those can go into place now. While others still need to be developed with the People out on the Land.

Certainly if you have written more than 2 letters, to any particular representative, now would be the time to call and make an appointment. At the very least with a designated Aide in a local office. In a number of places groups have gone as concerned delegations. If there is an active community leader in support of this issue it would be effective to invite them along. Scheduling a showing of the slideshow in your local congressional office is another good way to educate the people who inform the Representative. If your Representative holds "town meetings" attend those and raise the issue, you will not only inform the Representative, but others at the meeting as well.

Do not hesitate to ask for appointments, specific Aides to speak with in a local office, or to telephone. After all who is paying their salaries, don't you have a right to a response? In one instance when the Representative refused to move from their position, the constituant took the issue to the editorial page of the local paper.

April 1, tax deadline might be a particularly good time to leaflet at a Federal building especially in light of the horrendous waste of tax dollars.

BMLDOC has now established a lobbying effort in Washington DC, if your are going to meet with your representative in DC it would be good to touch base with the lobbying office for up-to-date information.

In terms of long range strategy this spring, The Gathering at Big Mountain in April will give outside support workers a chance to discuss with the JUA residents the best strategy for the remaining months. There has been some discussion of escalating activities at the local Congressional level following the Spring Gathering.

The bottom line in all our efforts is to stay in touch with the network of support and BMLDOC so that when we have a chance to appraoch our representatives, we have the most up-to-date information. This information we make our contact the most effective.

# Resource Materials

BIG MOUNTAIN NEWS

The 8 page newspaper produced quarterly by the Berkeley BMSG contains extensive coverage of the legal, legislative and environmental issues of relocation. Each copy also contains testimony from the Elders. Available for $20 per 100;3rd class mail or $25 for 1st class and 50 cents each for back copies. Subsriptions are $5 to $10 sliding scale from Berkeley BMSG/ 1412 Cypress St. Berkeley, CA 94703. (415) 841-6500

NAVAJOS RESIST FORCED RELOCATION

This "yellow" 12 page booklet which contains detailed information about the history and reasons behind the relocation, its effects on the people and their resistance. Available for $1 each or 30 for $15 from the Berkeley BMSG.

SLIDE SHOW

"In Defense of Sacred Land", a 30 minute slide show with music track and narration, offers a close-up look at an explosive situationn featuring the peoples' acts of resistance to preserve their threatened traditional culture at Big Mountain and the complex reasons behind relocation.

For information on slide show rental see section on regional co-ordinators. At printing time there are no copies for sale. Interest will determine time and quantity of next printing. Cost per show; 160 slides and 30 minute soundtrack is approximately $65; quantity printing may reduce the cost. If you are interested in purchasing a slideshow contact: BMLDOC/Flagstaff attn: Slideshow/Pelican Lee 2501 N 4th St, Flagstaff AZ. 86001 (602) 774-5233

**Resistance Art Network**

The BMLD/OC Resistance Art Network has numerous media services available. These resources include black and white/color prints and slides of many aspects of the Big Mountain Struggle, including images of tyhe land and the people, mining, and protests. We also have numerous artists in the network who have contributed graphics, illustration, line art and political cartoons. Please call to inquire about our price list. We are very interested in hearing from any artists and photographers who would like to join the Network. Please write to the Resistance Art Network c/o BMLD/OC

2501 N. 4th St., Ste. 18 Flagstaff, AZ 86001
(602) 774 - 5233

## REGIONAL SLIDESHOWS

The slide show is one of the most effective educational tools presently available. Many local support groups have a copy of the show, some do not. If you are interested in showing IN DEFENSE OF SACRED LAND, contact the closest local group (see support group list). If no show is available, contact one of the regional slide show coordinators. There are currently four regional contacts for slide shows who have been identified as having copies of the slide show available for loan/rent. In addition both BMSG/Berkeley and BMLDOC/Flagstaff have a national listing of slideshows.

Berkeley BMSG, 1412 Cypress, Berkeley, CA 94703

Drury-Ozarks BMSG, Box 129, Drury, MO 65638

BMLD/OC. 2501 N. 4th St., Ste. 18 Flagstaff, AZ 86001

Janis Morrison, 24 No. Street, Sommerville, MASS.,02144

## "BROKEN RAINBOW"

**FEATURE FILM ABOUT RELOCATION**

"Broken Rainbow" a moving film about Big Mountain; Dineh and Hopi resistance to forced relocatoin, has been nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature. It was one of 5 films choosen from 80+ screened.

Producers, Victoria Mudd and Maria Florio, are asking that support networks encourage local theaters to run "Borken Rainbow", as well as other screenings in their communities i.e.: private, campuses, benefits.

Contact:

EARTHWORKS
Box 2245
Malibu, CA 90265

# HANDBOOK

Increasingly there are requests by interested people in information about going to the Land, especially as the July deadline approachs. It would seem the responsibility of the support network in part to address this issue. While there is the oppurtunity for people to go to Big Mountain there are certain basic understandings which should be clear before arrival on the Land.

The first being that people should do something NOW in their own community; at the very least writting a letter. The pledge has been developed with the idea of encouraging solid commitment, based on the reality of the situation. Further to assist people in understanding what to expect and how they might lend assistance, a Handbook is being developed.

This Handbook will not only orient people as to the issue, but address the serious questions of racism, respect, selfsufficancy, etc. The Handbook will suggest how to develope local nonviolence training and resources to apply to the Big Mountain situation, as well as put forward Principals of Behavior. These Principals are being developed through cross cultural dialoque with the hopes of creating better communication and understanding.

The Handbook is being integrated into the Pledge as well as being used in the CALC project. The Handbook will be available at the end of March from the Flagstaff office or the Berkeley BMSG.

ALL people interested in coming to Big Mountain are requested to familiarize themselves with the Handbook.

# MEDIA RESOURCES

Audio Tapes $5.00 + postage

Uprooting the Navajo
The story of the Dineh and relocation through their own words.

A Message to the White Brother
From a speech by Thomas Banyayca, Hopi Spokesperson.

We Stand With the Navajo
Statement by Hopi spokesperson, Thomas Banyayca, on Traditional Hopi support of the Dineh relocatees.

This Is How It Is
Statements by three Dineh Elders and Medicine people, recorded at the Spring Gathering 1985.

Kiva
A meeting of joint unity including, Hopi Kikmongi and religous leaders, Hopi and Dineh people, BMLDOC lawyer Lew Gurwitz.

Dineh Traditional's Meeting
Sensitive testimonies and oral histories by Dineh Elders, translation by Bahe Kadenehe.

Radio Show
Radio interview format.

Video $50 + postage (prepaid) $25 rental

1/2" UHS "Wrong Side of the Fence"
1982 - Documentary; the story of Dineh relocation. 60 minute and 16 minute version available

"Relocation", produced by Victoria Mudd, forerunner to the film "Broken Rainbow", 28 minutes.

# Every Dollar Counts...

The need for funds to support this struggle is never ending. It is essential at this time to maintain a visible presence and continue the outreach. Responding to incoming inquiries is presently requiring drastically increased levels of resources due to the escalation of public interest since last winter.

This is the only organized effort on behalf of the families resisting relocation, and the only organized independent legal effort on their behalf.

The "usual" approaches must be accelerated : dances, tabling, concerts, raffles, slideshowings, benefits organized around tours. Sponsoring speaking tours also generates funds, and most importantly increased public awareness. But there is till a major gulf between available funds and what is needed to continue this work.

Budgets have been identified for the following operations, and proposals will be provided to potential funders if there is interest:

* legal effort in defense of the people;
* Flagstaff office (legal/political);
* information distribution (materials);
* representation in D.C.;
* travel funds for traditionals to meet with governmental offices;
* material support for the people facing removal;

Contributions for the legal work, and for many of the other purposes, are tax deductible. Direct contributions may be sent to the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee in Flagstaff;

# PLEDGE TO ACT

**For purposes of space the Pledge as it appears below is a condensed version, since History, Update, Letterwriting and the Handbook are covered elsewhere in this issue. A full length Pledge will be available starting March 20 from either the BMSG/Berkeley or BMLDOC/Flagstaff. We ask that this pledge be used nationwide to provide a continuity of understanding.**

We will use the pledge as another way of networking people into already excisting local support groups.

Purpose...The purpose of the Pledge is to provide the public with a unified voice on a national basis , to give those interested in action a sense of direction which starts in the present not some "future" removal date. Development of the Pledge is to improve communication with support workers and those people directly affected on the land so that needs are expressed correctly and guidelines for action reflect the desiers of the people in the JUA resisting relocation. The pledge will not call for specific actions other than organizing NOW for repeal of PL 93 531, i.e. letterwriting, visiting local congressional offices, education. Those who make the pledge will be asked to read the Handbook to familiarize themselves with the principals of behavior and to participate in any local training that might be available. The main purpose of the Pledge is to coordinate and give direction to the growing support, a well as provide a framework for individuals to see how they can approprately and affectively work on this issue in a way in which best meets the needs and desires of the Elders and families in the JUA

Pledge to Organize

Because PL 93-531 is an act of genocide which has already destroyed the lives of many families, wasted millions of dollars on a program doomed to failure, and may result in the forced removal ....Because PL 93-531 is a result of Federal legislation, which only the the Senate and Congress can change...I pledge to educate myself and others in my community on this issue. Recognizing repeal as the first step towards resolution of this situation I pledge to contact my elected representative, educating them on the issue, urging them to move in the proper direction, demanding if necessary that repeal legislation be supported. Through the resources and direction of BMLDOC/BMSG; write letters, meet with my representatrives, join with others in my area to go to these representative offices as a concerned delegation. I pledge to do everything possible NOW to see that the Congress and Senate take responsibility for a situation which was created in Washington DC and has no real basis in truth amongst the people of the Joint Use Area.

US OUT OF
BIG
MOUNTAIN

Pledge to Mobilize

I pledge to mobilize under direction of the Elders **through BMSG/BMLDOC at a time and in a way which is decide by the people themselves.** In recognizing the seriousness of the situation and the role of nonindian people to function as successful support, I agree to read the available Handbook, participate in any local training and in general come to some sort of terms with the issues of absolute self sufficancy and unconcious racism in prepartation for any potential mobilization. I understand the principal that no person should mobilize if they have not first organized.

Following each portion of the Pledge there will be a number of basic informational questions.

# VIOLENCE: LOOK WHO'S TALKING

"An armed camp" is how two Christian magazines described Big Mountain recently.

Big Mountain is probably the least "armed" area of Indian Country in the U.S. Guns are commonplace on Indian lands and in other rural communities, where hunting, fishing, and herding are not sports but are a real source of sustenance. However, due to the zealotry of the U.S. government wherever it perceives "resistance", guns are expressly forbidden at the Survival Camp established at Big Mountain in 1981. It is an island without arms.

### Who is Talking Violence ?

Challenged on their sensationalism, reporters for National Catholic Reporter and others arrogantly insist that they "know what it's about" and know "all about AIM." How ?

Maybe by listening to Hopi Chairman Ivan Sidney: "Big Mountain's non-Indian lawyers (are) attempting to stage violence as means of getting media attention," he reported in October in his monthly newsletter. Sidney also told the Arizona Republic in January that "AIM is trying to create fear of violence..."

Visibly enjoying the possibility, Barry Goldwater brags: "the Arizona National Guard will kick the living---out of them, and I might help them."

### The Return of the "Outside Agitator"

In late January the Hopi Chairman demanded that the Navajo Tribe remove the non-Indian and outside support from the Big Mountain area. "These outside agitators" are a potential source of violence, he insisted.

As Sidney froths at the mouth, he provides a strange reminder of the very origins of the so-called land dispute in the 1880's. President Chester Arthur's 1882 Executive Order Area, over which all the legal wrangling has occurred, was established specifically to allow removal of what were described as "white troublemakers" who were supporting Hopi traditionalists' resistance to the U.S. As usual the government excused its own intervention by blaming "outside agitators."

### Deadly Media

Unfortunately the media has shown that it is willing to cover only two "news angles", both of them deadly to the traditional Navajo and Hopi resisting implementation of the Relocation Act. The only coverage allowed on the air is either sensationalistic or fatalistic, and often a combination of both.

The sensational angle focusses on the possibility of a violent confrontation, an "armed camp at Big Mountain", a "last stand". The fatalistic story laments the "tragic death of a culture", as in PBS' "Trouble at Big Mountain" this winter. The reporter conveys sympathy for the Navajo Elders facing removal, but then unilaterally concludes that it's inevitable.

Both type stories have much in common. None of these "investigative" reports are able to find anything newsworthy about the role of Peabody Coal, John Boyden or Harrison Loesch in the situation. And both presume the removal will be carried out, the only difference between them being whether violence will occur in the process.

### The Real Violence

It might be called the quiet violence of an unjust legal system, but the real violence started well before passage of the 1974 Relocation Act. The real violence has been the century-long attempt by the U.S. and its energy and mineral company "constituents" to industrialize the Four Corners.

The Act itself imposes many acts of violence: (1) the 300 mile barbed wire fence, which violently divides Navajo from Hopi, family from family, (2) the forcible confiscation of more than 90% of the livestock on which the Dineh depend for their food, economy and culture, (3) the uprooting of the people, which they say (with the support of international experts on the matter) would literally end their lives, (4) the massive coal mining of hundreds of square miles of Black Mesa lands, converting them into a National Sacrifice Area on which no life form can survive, and (5) the conversion of thousands of Navajo people into urban refugees, the homeless.

The fate awaiting these refugees is one of joblessness, depression, homesickness, suicide, alcoholism, homelessness and welfare. Attempts to participate in the "mainstream" economy will often be rewarded with racial prejudice and outright defrauding of the refugees.

### The Peaceful Resistance of Big Mountain

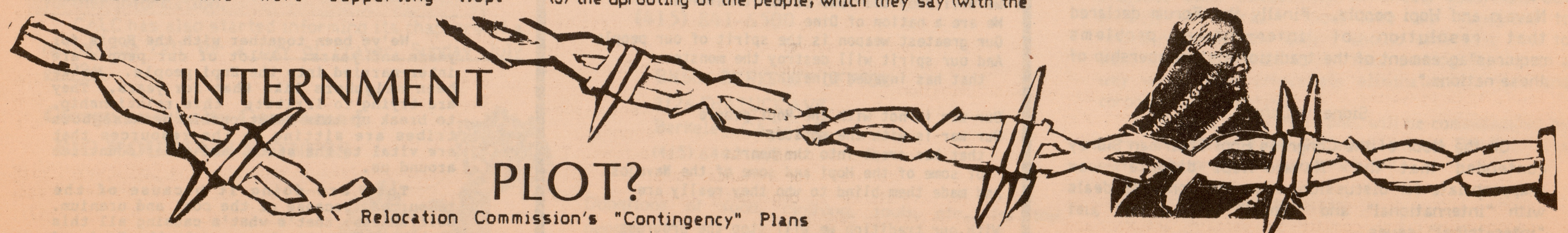
In the face of this assault, judged as "The Crime of Genocide" by the Fourth Russell Tribunal in Rotterdam in 1980, who could remain passive ? Would Barry Goldwater, for instance ?

Cowboys and Indians is an old American Movie. It is unfortunate when that movie runs inside the heads of key media persons and Congressmen. Spooked by their own racial fears, and fascination with violence, they see it in every shadow.

And seeing violence, they cause shots to be fired into those shadows.

Who is in the shadows ? Navajo Elders, many of them grandmothers. These are the resistance at Big Mountain, with whom Larry Anderson will stand in the Dineh Way, in the peaceful way, with whom hundreds of nonviolent and non-Indian people will stand in July.

Bottom line is that there is a real threat of violence at Big Mountain. The source of that threat is the frontier mentality of the authorities who may move against these people. Nurturing that mentality is the ignorance and gullibility of the white media which refuses to recognize a situation of self defense Violence makes "good copy".



# INTERNMENT PLOT?

## Relocation Commission's "Contingency" Plans

The Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission has prepared plans for removal of all remaining Navajo to a massive "subdivision" this year. The Legality of such plans has been challenged by one of the Relocation Commissioners, the Navajo Tribe and the Big Mountain Defense Committee, who say the plans may violate either the Relocation Act or the Relocation Plan required by the Act.

These "contingency plans" may neutralize a relocation program "safeguard" approved by Congress in December, banning forcible removals until "replacement housing is available".

### Secret Plans

The contingency plans surfaced last summer when the Commission's planning contractor, CH2MHill, was discovered to have been developing a "subdivision" scheme for relocation of hundreds of Navajo families. Challenged as to why it was preparing "high density" housing, CH2MHill revealed that two of the three Commissioners had secretly modified the contract to authorize the plans. The third Commissioner, Sandra Massetto, who advocates strict adherence to the Relocation Act, had not been informed of the change.

In planning jargon, the issue has been discussed in terms of "rural communities", "high density housing" and "range clusters". Massetto rejected the planners obfuscations, charging "you can call it a rural community, you can call it a toenail, but it is a subdivision...with 400 lots on it...the people have said 'we don't want high density areas'...they want extended families in rural areas, not high density."

### "Safeguard" Bypass

The recent appropriations bill prohibits forcible removal of families identified by the Commission as "domiciled on the (lands) as of November 30, 1985...unless replacement housing is available." The Commission says the "safeguard" applies to only the 399 families which it recognizes as on the land, an estimate which dovetails closely with the 400 families provided for in the contingency plans.

The Relocation Commission admits that the "399" families are its very top priority for use of the 1986 relocation funds approved by Congress. The appropriation bill is silent, however, on who determines if housing is "available."

"You can't put them in a place where they're not going to be able to survive," Massetto continued. "The Law requires that the plan be designed to minimize the impacts of relocation, and to be socially, culturally and economically in tune with the Navajo, or be it Hopi, relocatee families.

"Your planners told us a long time ago that these bigger communites wouldn't work out there," Massetto told CH2MHill and the other two Commissioners. Commissioners Watkins and Atkinson, who had secretly authorized the subdivision plans, remained stonily silent. Watkins hastily adjourned the meeting 41 minutes after it began. When Massetto raised the same questions at the next monthly meeting, Watkins again had no answers and Atkinson said "I don't understand the question."

The contingency plans were developed at the same time that the McClure/Goldwater appropriation bill was approved by a Senate subcommittee, providing a huge one-time federal expenditure for a rapid conclusion to the relocation program. Several observers have noted the close working relationship between Goldwater, Watkins and Atkinson, suggesting the likelihood that the McClure bill and the contingency plans were closely related

### Internment Nothing New

"Internment" is not a new phenomenom in the U.S. In the 1860's the U.S. marched nearly the entire Navajo population to an internment camp at Bosque redondo in New Mexico, thousands dying on "The Long Walk".

During World War II, 120,000 Japanese were imprisoned for several years, many of them on Indian lands, because of their nationality. Critics of the relocation program question whether there is any difference between these previous internments and the potential implementation of the contingency plans.

### Illegal ?

The Relocation Commission seems aware that its contingency plans are inconsistent with the Act, but, as a Congressional investigation found, the Act itself contains contradictory requirements. Faced with several options, most of which violate some portion of the Act, the Commission (Watkins and Atkinson) is following Goldwater's direction which demands adhering to the deadline regardless of other provisions of the Act.

Month after month the Big Mountain defense team has challenged the Commission about radioactive water on the "new lands", lack of roads, water, sewage disposal, education and health facilites, all of which are required under the Act. Challenged at public meetings about its failure to provide required services to those who have tried to relocate, the typical petulant response by the Commission is "people were promised water and power...they weren't told when it would be there."

While the current homes of some Navajo also lack water and other amenities, those shortcomings are not so life-threatening if the traditional Navajo lifestyle is left intact, including sheepherding. On the "new lands" the result is destruction of the relocatee and starvation. The Commission responds that it doesn't have enough funding to comply with the law, and at the same time doesn't request such funding.

Net result is a plan for internment. As Commisioner Masseto said, "you can call it a toenail..."

## FOR THE FOURTH TIME: Another Navajo Removal

Supporters of P.L. 93-531 portray the Navajo relocation program as the unfortunate but necessary result of Navajo "encroachment" onto Hopi lands. The image is of an aggressive Navajo population surrounding and crowding the Hopi into their little villages.

Such a portrayal ignores two facts. First, the Hopi live today exactly where they have lived for at least a millenia, in their villages on the mesas. Second, the Dineh (Navajo) have been subjected to four removals by the U.S. since the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which the U.S. promised never to remove the Native inhabitants of the Southwest. The Treaty settled the U.S.-Mexican war.

Maps of artifact findings show that the present Navajo reservation corresponds almost exactly with their pre-U.S. homelands, and that the Navajo's close relationship with the Hopi, both in ceremony and intermarriage, dates back to the time of the Anasazi, (perhaps as early as 1200 A.D.)

Within 3 years of the U.S. conquest of the Southwest it was at war with the Navajo, who were bristling at the white Gold Rush traffic through their neighborhoods, resulting in the "Navajo Wars" of 1851-1868.

The wars were concluded by Kit Carson's scorched earth campaign of 1863-1864, in which he burnt their crops, destroyed their herds and starved the Navajo out of their canyonlands. He then put all 8,000 Navajo on the Long Walk, 400 miles to Fort Sumner in New Mexico where they were incarcerated for four years. During the Walk and imprisonment several thousand died. The survivors were released in 1868 and gradually reoccupied the area from which they had been removed.

In 1934 the U.S. constructed a fence between the Navajo and Hopi, under a "range management" program. The Hopi were assigned to a box-shaped area around their villages, designated as "District 6," and the BIA notified 100 Navajo families (500-1000 people) living inside the boundary that they had to abandon their homes. 15 of the families resisted and fought the removal in the courts. In 1972 the government threw out their suits and forcibly removed them, bulldozing their homes and putting the people in trucks.

And in 1970 Peabody Coal commenced its massive strip mining operation at Kayenta, in the heart of the Black Mesa. The mine plan covers a 100 square mile area, and during its 35 year lease Peabody will destroy the homes and grazing lands of the hundreds of Navajo families who live on those lands.

P.L. 93-531, then, implements the fourth removal of the Dineh people, some families having been subjected to more than one relocation already.

Many of the families at Big Mountain say they are descendants of the Dineh who were never caught by Kit Carson. They say they have never been removed and that they never will be.

### dawn of a people

and i look to the west
black silhouetted mesas
standing proudly
and the sky shouts an intense orange
desperate rays of the setting sun
the earth whispers away time
a hushed dusk approaches
and a stubborn wind
the lone warrior
attacking fallen leaves
fragile, flimsy leaves
like broken promises
broken treaties
tossing the past aimlessly...

but today washington
speaks of relocation
turning to the east
darkness encroaches
federal bureaucracy enchroaches
time-
the dusk of a people?

but the eyes of the elders
eyes of sad determination
have spoken to me-
no, not this time...

Marie White
Ganado, AZ
-reprinted from MAAZO Magazine

# ON THE LAND

**SUPPLIES ARE ALWAYS NEEDED,
NOW MORE THAN EVER.**

With the disruption of the peoples' economic base, it is important to address the subject material aide, especially through this crucial Winter and Spring. Our ultimate goal should be to maintain a steady flow of food (produce, staples, and dry goods), building supplies, warm blankets, winter clothing. In the past local support groups have co-ordinated shipments headed to the land. Contact the support group closest to you if you have a donation. PLEASE despite the limited resources, donations of quality are needed as oppossed to quantity. Poor quality materials are insulting and are usually not worth the gas and energy it took to deliver.

Besides supporting the physical needs of the people, we can also support their culture by supporting the Weavers on the land. We can do this by getting donations of wool; raw or carded and spun wool, of any color, though red, black, yellow, gray, brown. Contact Berkeley BMSG if you have wool donations.

Listed below is a partial needs list, the Survival Camp has developed a more comprehensive list which is available through the BMLDOC office in Flagstaff.

MATERIAL AIDE

- Tents
- Tarps
- Sleeping bags
- Flashlights Batteried
- Coleman Lamps
- Fuel
- Kerosene Lamps; globes and wicks
- Walkie Talkies
- C.B. Radios
- 5, 10, 20 gallon water containers
- Waterhose
- Lumber
- Wood glue

TOOLS

- Axes and axe handles
- Chainsaws
- Handsaws
- Wedges
- Hammers
- Picks, shovels, spades
- Duct tape
- Ass't nails, screws, fasteners

PERSONAL

- Shampoo
- Soap
- Toiletpaper
- Towels
- Toothpaste
- Combs/brushes
- Cleaning supplies
- First aide kits

FOOD

- Herbs
- Tamari
- Teas
  - Black
  - Herbal
- Coffee
- Salt
- Sugar
- Rice, Beans
- Flour, Grains
- Nuts
- Dried Fruit
- Potatoes
- Carrots
- Onions
- Oranges
- Cabbage
- Ramen
- Fruit juice
- Jams/Jellies
- Nutbutter
- Vegetable Oil
- Eggs
- Cheese
- Bacon
- Ground beef

CLOTHING

- Warm clothes
  - Jackets
  - Sweaters
  - Jeans
  - Jackets
  - Boots
  - Gloves
  - Raingear

# LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE

Some of the testimony which appears in this issue is being reused from previous issues. The words of the People are as timely and insightful, now as when they were first spoken.

**Verna Tullie**

...What is wrong with our leaders? Why don't they fight for the concerns of our people? Our grandmothers taught us not to leave our land.

...We are going to break all your laws regarding P.L. 93 - 531. These laws are man-made laws, not natural laws. Therefore they are made to be broken.

**Jane Biakeddy**

We as people of this land are not educated. Many of us can not write or read the English language, that is one of the obstacles confronting us. When we see alot of papers saying there is a law to evict us or relocate us, sometimes I think its overwhelming. I pray for you and I pray with my family, so that we can continue to live together and fight together for our land and our livestock. I appreciate the unity and love that has been brought here by many of you.

Many times I have feelings about my people here at Big Mountian. These feeling are so great sometimes that I can not eat or sleep. Sometimes it overwhelms me that I have to cry almost every day. But I know I am strong, that women here have to take care of this land, that I have my duties. I have to also continue to carry that strength on. I cry because I have love for my people, love fo my land. I have love for my livestock that is why I cry.

**Kee Shay**

We are trying to be independent and someday our nation is going to be self-sufficent again. We want to have our schools, to enlarge our corn fields, to grow our own food. So I am telling you, all of you, the supporters, the people who have come here to listen and help, so you will know within yourself why you are here, and what the struggle is all about.

This movement is a spiritual movement, our struggle is for our sovereignty. We are here to protect our ceremonies, the songs and the prayers of these sacred mountains and springs...

In today's world, we have leaders that are in Window Rock. These leaders are supposed to represent us, and their people, too. They are called Councilmen and Chapter Presidents, but today they do not help us. They do not give us ideas how to solve the problems, the suffering of life here. They do not come to sit among us and discuss the issues. When they come, they just come to look at us, and then go away. When they are in their council chambers, they always want to discuss other issues, brought in by outside influences. They are on wages, they are being paid to vote on all the influences that comes into the reservation.

...We still carry on the ceremonial ways that were given to us by our grandmothers and grandfathers. All these ceremonial ways are the laws of our people...

...Who really is looking up to our laws and who is looking at what our forefathers had to go through in their history? Who is looking at the struggle that our ancestors went through to hand us our history and uphold the spiritual laws that give us our life and tell us how we should take on our life...

...It is never easy for any of us. We still struggle for the same goals we did in the beginning, mainly freedom for our people, our sacred shrines, our Religion, our prayers and our Sacred Mother Earth. From now on we should talk about how to get our land back. We must depend on those who recognize our struggle and support us. We must work with our medicine people who can speak strong and our Hopi relatives who agree with our resistance.

...We need to work on getting the minds out of confusion and fear and continue to tell people not to depend on the tricks of the tribal and federal governments.

**Roberta Blackgoat**

The whole space is set with coal underneath, and thats what is really being wanted, so thats the place where they really want to destroy. So we really wanted to know what are they are going to do with the winged people. Are they going to relocate them too?

And also the animals in the mountains, people that crawls in the ground? Are they going to relocate these people too? They're people too. We are living with them, and also they plants. We have some for the food, and some for the medicine, and yet they are going to destroy all these things.

Anything that is being dug from the ground is our Mother Earth's body, all the streams that are underneath are her viens, and also the liver is the coal. Now they are hurting the lung over on that side, and hurting the liver (mining the uranium and coal). And so if shes in pain, what is she going to do? If she shakes and starts turning, that is going to be it.

**David Clark**

...Just to see a fence gets to a person, it hurts the heart.

We'er just like a prisoner of war. That's the technique that's being used against the Indian people, and against the Navajo people. Years back, when Kit Carson got his troops into the Navajo reservation, when those Anglos were enchroaching on the lands here. Many of our people were trying to preserve these lands. For doing that the United States government brought troops into this area.

They are using the same military techniques that they used back in those years and now you see nothing but empty hogans where there was life going on. Because they were forced to relocate. A lot of our own people had to submit because they were starving.

**Mae Tso**

It is very important that we stay together and challenge this law...

They continue to humiliate us, to uproot us. But I know as a woman, that my job is also to defend my home, my livestock, my way of life. The Creator put us here to bring life into this world, to take care of this land, and to care for our children. They try to do many thins to discourage us, to try and hurt us.

One day a representative of my community, a Tribal representative, told me, "Don't say any more words. Don't do any more things that go against the authority. If you violate their law you will go to jail again." This was the advice of my local representative to the Tribal Couoncil. But as a woman and already experienceing the problems here, I can not just let these things slip by. I have to protect my family and my livestock. I want to keep fighting for my people.

I am a very simple lady, I am poor, but I feel I must carry this rich culture, this rich feeling of togetherness. In being a mother and a sister, I must carry this on for my future generation.

**Sarah Begay**

We do not want relocation, not just for Indian people, but for the whole human race. We want to stop the relocation of all the human race; their minds and culture. Our nation back home, is surrounded by six sacred mountains. These mountains are abused today by the corporations. They have discovered the sacred balance within these mountains, and they are starting to mine, using dynamite. This is how they are cutting into our mountains. Our people hold what they call mountian soil bundles, these sre the laws of our people. When these mountains are disturbed, then are homes, our families are disturbed.

Our forefathers always told us to defend our homes, our families. Not to let the ceremony be interrupted anywhere in our lives, in the peoples' lives. This ceremony must not be delayed, it must not be interfered with. We look at the lives of Indian people as a whole ceremony. From sunup to sundown, sundown to sunrise. It is a whole ceremony with the Earth and the Universe and the movement of the planets. They are all spirit people doing the ceremony. Don't let the ceremony be interrupted or life will go unbalanced.

# NAVAJO CHAIRMAN'S COMPROMISE STRATEGY

### Ignoring the Traditionals ?

In the Fall of 1985 Navajo Chairman Peterson Zah finally unveiled his strategy for resolving the "Navajo and Hopi land dispute," after maintaining near silence on the issue for almost 3 years.

After Hopi Chairman Sidney thumbed his nose at "negotiations" with the Navajo Tribe in August, Zah took the high road, with some degree of credibility, stating that the Navajo Tribe had offered every possible compromise, involving land, people, water and coal, but that the Hopi Tribe was completely unreasonable.

### "Minimizing Relocation"

Zah has long stated his goal as "minimizing" the number of relocatees. In practice this has meant negotiating land exchanges, seeking benefits for those relocated, and as much land and resources as possible as compensation for the relocation. By working within the Relocation Act Zah has become a partner in the Paragon Ranch in New Mexico and the 2000 megawatt power plant and coal mine which goes with it.

When the Udall-McCain "compromise" bill was made public in February, Zah immediately supported it, and returned home to campaign for it on the reservation.

His approach is in marked contrast to the posture of the prior MacDonald administration, which called the entire relocation program wrong, prepared expose's of corporate manipulation of the dispute, and delighted in pointing out the traditioal-progressive split within the Hopi Tribe. While MacDonald's positions were harder, their effectiveness was not apparent. This may have been due to his heavy handedness, or a lack of leverage owing to a deadline several years in the future.

In assuming his "reasonable" posture, Zah has made many concessions and dropped many old grievances, to the deep dissatisfaction of many of the traditionals facing removal from their homelands.

The anti-relocation movement insists that all involuntary removals are illegitimate and that those already removed should be allowed to return. But in pursuing "minimization" of relocations, Zah has in effect conceded that many relocations are inevitable. And in selecting "new lands" for relocatees Zah has left himself open to charges that he is hypocritical in accepting lands but balking at relocation.

### The Chairmen Agree

And most fundamentally, Navajo Chairman Zah's posture serves to validate the contention that the dispute really is a "Navajo and Hopi land dispute." Neither he nor Hopi Chairman Ivan Sidney bring up unseemly issues such as coal leases or water rights as essential ingredients in the "dispute", despite the steadfast claim by Navajo and Hopi traditionals alike that coal is the root cause.

Zah's main complaint would appear to be that mass relocation is the wrong solution because it is unreasonable.

Zah's posture shifted somewhat in October following release of the Reagan Adminstration's findings that there was a need for a "comprehensive solution" to all Navajo and Hopi land issues. Zah's spokepersons immediately began speaking of the need to halt relocation in lieu of development of that wider solution. Zah's main goal may be one of buying time.

### Comprehensive Solution Without the Traditionals ?

The chairman became the target of an impeachment resolution soon after he supported the Udall-McCain bill. The main objection at the Cameron Chapter which passed the resolution was that the chairman was not consulting with the people. From the people at Big Mountain there were complaints of the bill being developed "behind closed doors", but also encouragement for Zah to keep working to open up Congressional debate.

Ultimately both chairmen are politicians, Indian or not, and their positions consistently appear to ignore all aspects of the relocation dispute that are not measurable in the realms of tribal politics or resource development.

Since the Navajo facing removal are clearly traditionals, and since they are supported by the traditional Hopi, who are apparently a wide majority of the Hopi people, then any congressional "solution" which ignores their voices, needs and involvement is unlikely to solve anything for long.

In determining whether any particular "solution" is truly comprehensive, it should be compared to the stated desires of the traditional Navajo and Hopi: (1) Repeal the Relocation Act, (2) The right to return for all the refugees already created under the Act, (3) A real and comprehensive solution to all of the land issues between Navajo and Hopi, (4) A right of passage to those who still want to relocate. The last thing anybody needs is another short-sighted solution.

At press time none of the bills before Congress called for repeal.

# THE CAHN REPORT:

## WHY COVERED UP?

In 1982 The Citizens' Advocate Center of Washington, D.C. released a 500 page report on its findings after a year-long investigation of "a dispute which never should have been." The Report was delivered in the midst of Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald's bid for re-election, a campaign which he lost.

The Center had performed an "independent" investigation, on contract to the Navajo Tribal Council. Some allege this taints the Report's independence, others ask who else would fund a serious investigation. The investigation was headed up by Edgar Cahn, who assembled an impressive team of researchers and contributors. The team reviewed all previous investigations, and compiled much new research.

The result is a powerful two volume review of historical fact, anthropological evidence, court proceedings, Congressional history, leases, and Indian history. The Report is both well documented and easily readable. It also leaves little doubt that the Relocation Act and program are a tremendous miscarriage of justice.

What happened to this Report ? Clearly it was covered up, but by whom?

Two months after the Report was finished, MacDonald lost his election after a 12 year run as Chairman in which he had become known as "the most powerful Indian in America." Shortly after his loss there were minor scuffles over boxes of documents, and rumors speculating over "what he was trying to hide," quickly arose. Little came of these incidents, Peterson Zah took office and quiet prevailed.

In his inaugural speech Zah called for a "New Era" of negotiation of the land dispute, stating that he and the Hopi Chairman could work it out "under the shade of a tree." Given the events of the past 3 years this thought appears somewhat ludicrous, but nevertheless Zah was signaling a de-escalation of the relocation issue.

For his part MacDonald appears to have taken the Cahn report, subtitled "A Report to the American People," and squirreled it away for his own use at a later date. His only known public mention of it was an oblique reference last July to "research and evidence" which he would have used if he had been reelected. It is inexplicable that he hasn't made public use of the document regardless of the election results.

Why hasn't Peterson Zah made use of the research? It may be that the Report gets into areas which he would prefer not to discuss. The Cahn Report, for instance, takes a very hard and critical look at "the coal connection."

Having recently become a partner with Bechtel and General Electric in a plan to operate a 2000 megawatt power plant and strip mine on Navajo lands, Zah may be in no position to expose the coal connection.

Who will ?

Those interested in obtaining a copy of the Report should contact the BMSG/Berkeley which publishes this paper. Duplication costs are substantial, but worth it. On the other hand, it seems logical that one could contact the Navajo Tribe and expect it to be glad to provide this invaluable research on the relocation issue. If not, why not ? Shouldn't Congress be expected to be interested in the Report ?

In fact, how can Congress act at all on this matter without at least addressing the research compiled in this study ?

# DOCUMENTATION

The Relocation Act was introduced three times over a 16 year period before it finally passed Congress in 1974. The difference in 1973-1974 was a slick and well funded p.r. campaign, on behalf of the "Hopi Tribe," run by Evans and Associates of Salt Lake City. "Coincidentally" having the account for WEST, a huge consortium of energy companies and utilities, Evans' campaign omitted all reference to minerals and coal.

Public and Congressional perceptions were badly manipulated. In 1986 the latest "Hopi Chairman" has again geared up an aggressive campaign which seeks to completely obscure the cause and context of the "dispute" The best remedies for such misinformation are facts and documentation, and over the past 15 years a wealth of such documentation has accumulated. Nevertheless our experience has been that it is a rare Congressperson or legislative aide who is familiar with any of the available studies. It is time to help Congress become acquainted with the facts..........

Check out the recommended reading on this page, and for a detailed bibliography send $1 to Big Mountain Support Group, 1412 Cypress, Berkeley, CA 94703.

### JOHN REDHOUSE: GEOPOLITICS

43 pages of documented and footnoted gory details of the "national scandal which the U.S. government tried to cover up" at the United Nations in 1981.

The scandal is that "the U.S. has repeatedly violated the human rights and the territorial integrity of the Navajo and Hopi people living on the Black Mesa...robbing the two tribes of their sovereign status and dispossessing them of their aboriginal land base".

Redhouse provides horrifying detail of dozens of deals cut between white attorneys throughout the 1940's up to the present time. The names are familiar, several Udalls, Boydens, an occasional Loesch, Goldwater.

This is the hardest hitting brief broadside there will be on this one. Copyright 1985 by John Redhouse and Wright Productions, Albuquerque. No publishers address, we found our copy at the Navajo Museum in Window Rock ($7). Contact BMSG/Berkeley, publishers of the News, if you can't find this elsewhere.

### The Primer on the Hopi Tribal Council

REPORT TO THE HOPI KIKMONGWIS and Other Traditional Hopi Leaders on Docket 196 and the Continuing Threat to Hopi Land and Sovereignty. Indian Law Resource Center, 1979, 601 E. Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

This is the most extensive, yet readable, documented history of the U.S. campaign to undermine the Hopi, fence them in, take their mineral wealth, confiscate and divide their lands. The U.S. and its designated tribal "chairmen" have never refuted this study, but have refused to discuss it.

### LAW REVIEW ARTICLES

Two excellent reviews of the legal and policy context of P.L. 93-531, the Relocation Act, are available. Both challenge the prevailing misconception that partition of the land or removal of the people are necessary or appropriate, regardless of one's understanding of the "dispute."

Hollis Whitson's "Policy Review of the Federal Government's Relocation of Navajo Indians Under P.L. 93-531 and P.L. 96-305", was published in the Arizona Law Review", Volume 27, number 2 (1985).

Richard Schifter's "Healing v. Jones: Mandate for Another Trail of Tears", was published in the North Dakota Law Review 73 (1974). Schifter's study was published before the relocation Act was passed in 1974, ignored by Congress, and still shows the fallacy of the Congress' assumptions in passing the Act.

Whitson's study takes a hard look at the evidence after 11 years and sees even more fallacies. Is anybody listening?

### THE SECOND LONG WALK

The Second Long Walk, by Jerry Kammer (1980) remains an excellent resource for anecdotal background on the passage of the Relocation Act. University of New Mexico Press, available in softcover for $9.95.

This is probably the best human interest snapshot of the Indian people and of the Congress, during the early 1970's when the Relocation Act was passed. Kammer treads lightly on the coal and water connections, but they are well documented by other researchers.

This book is essential for anybody wanting to understand the hearing-to-hearing reality of how the Act passed Congress. As much of the debate of the early 1970's is again echoing through the halls of Congress, the book serves as an excellent program for following the same old cast of characters in the latest drama.

### EMPIRES IN THE SUN

Empires in the Sun, by Peter Wiley and Robert Gottlieb, is an exhaustive and unrelenting 332 page portrait of "the rise of the new American West." Published in 1982, it is available in paperback and should be read by all those interested in the larger context of the Resource Wars of the southwest.

Some chapter titles: Geopolitics at Home and Abroad; Salt Lake City: Zion at the Crossroads; The Indian Wars.

Empires in the Sun is about the Southwest, its role in the national economy and politics since World War II, and finally how this region fits into plans for the industrialization of the entire Pacific Basin. The book has an excellent index, which makes it a useful resource for any research. Putnams and Sons Publishers.

# FAILED NEGOTIATIONS: Why are the Traditionals Left Out?

## It's Time for Real Negotiations

Press a Congressman and ask him why the Relocation Act was passed and he'll tell you "because the Navajo and Hopi were unable to work it out among themselves."

Point out that all the laws and lawsuits originate with the Hopi Tribal Chairman who is elected by a miniscule fraction (less than 10%) of the Hopi people, and he'll respond "who else can we work with ?"

Our question: Why not try a real negotiation between the Navajo and Hopi people who actually live on these supposedly contested lands ?

Of course a real negotiation would not have the Indian Chairmen represented by white Mormon attorneys on the payroll of Peabody Coal, Kerr McGee. Nor would a real negotiation have its groundrules written up by another white attorney hired by neither Tribe but who spent 5 years as Peabody's chief D.C. lobbyist.

Nor would a real negotiation disenfranchise the Hopi traditionals, who themselves are the majority of the Hopi people, a majority which all observers understand is refusing to participate in Tribal elections out of respect for their own religious beliefs. Real negotiations would let the traditionals speak for themselves, let them be heard, village-by-village if necessary, in their own way and time.

Nor would real negotiations disenfranchise Navajo traditionals, forcing them to share the view of their Chairman who has recently become a partner with Bechtel and others in a new power plant and coal mine on Navajo lands.

Compromise and change is a way of life for Navajo and Hopi traditionals. Because of that, their traditional ways have not required "elections" and other "majority rule" (minority lose) devices. Their way of life is one of accomodation rather than conquest. It is the non-Indian corporate attorneys with their adversarial mentality who have been unwilling and unable to negotiate; their greed and their training gets in the way.

Is a real negotiation possible ? Yes. Even in the high-tech industrialized fast track culture of modern America there is a new field which deals with "conflict resolution", and even "cross-cultural negotiations".

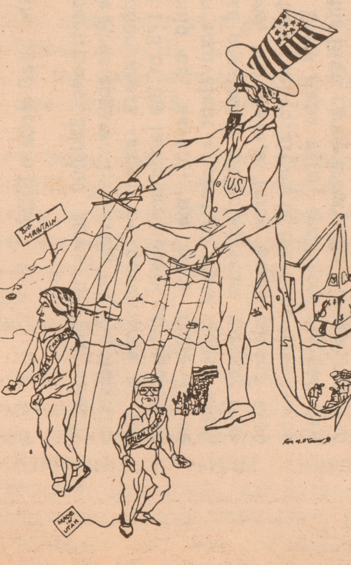
While much of the public and Congressional discussion focuses on legalistic issues, the fundamental conflict in this case is cultural. The main casualty of the Relocation Act may be a culture: a way of life which we need to know more about.

Are we really willing to allow this culture to be sacrificed without even allowing it to be heard ? Why haven't the traditionals, Navajo and Hopi, been allowed to speak for themselves ? Isn't there time ? Or is their point of view so dangerous that it must be muzzled ?

Obviously there cannot be negotiation when one party has the axe of removal hanging over its head. The entire removal must be halted, repealed, while the people themselves are allowed to talk with each other. Even the Reagan Administration advocates negotiations and recognizes the need for a much longer range solution than this partition and relocation.

Next time your government official whines about the "Navajo and Hopi who can't even work it out", tell him or her they've never been given the chance. Say its inappropriate and racist for the U.S. to take action against these people who have not been allowed to speak. Ask whether there is such a hurry to risk an international incident, to violate international laws including those against genocide, that there is no time to let these people be heard. When will they be heard ?

It's about time.



## CLARK REPORT RELEASED BY REAGAN

### Alternative to Relocation Sought

On October 21, 1985 the Reagan Administration released its findings concluding a 7 month investigation into the relocation program. The Report was presented to Reagan by ex-Interior secretary William Clark, and prepared by his associate, attorney Richard Morris. "Our mission has been to determine whether there is an alternative solution (to) removal of the Navajo", noted the authors.

Most media coverage mistakenly reported that Clark and Morris concluded there were no alternatives available. Actually the Report recommended that "other agencies" of government take action to develop an alternative solution not only to the relocation, but to "the whole range of issues" related to Navajo and Hopi Reservation boundaries.

The options, according to Morris, were (1) "agreement between the Tribes (chairmen)", (2) "change in existing law", or (3) "relocation of Navajo from Hopi lands". "A forced relocation, of course, is the very thing we hoped could be avoided.

The Report concluded that the only option which seemed hopeless was agreement between the two Tribal chairmen. Morris also stated frankly that there was "doubt" that the Hopi Tribal Chairman represented a consensus of the Hopi people, since "traditionally the Hopi indicate dissent by nonparticipation (rather than voting)". He also noted that the Hopi Tribal Council "lacked a quorum during all or major portions of the time we have communicated with the Hopi."

Nevertheless, Morris wrote, "the Relocation Act recognizes only the Tribal chairmen."

"The Hopi (Tribe) have concluded...that it is not in their best interest to negotiate...While we may disagree with that conclusion, it is an internal decision which the Hopi must make."

"Our effort is not to bring about compliance with the law." Lack of agreement between the two Tribes "does not mean the problems... cannot be resolved, but only that they cannot be resolved by voluntary agreement between Hopi and Navajo (Tribes)". "Other agencies", then, "have responsibility and authority for initiating processes to correct what they may deem to be improper or unjust."

"It appears clear that a substantial number of Navajo...will stand firm against forcible eviction...(and that) those Navajo who choose to physically resist relocation will be encouraged and assisted in that effort by others, both Indian and non-Indian activists."

Having noted that "the Navajo were, and remain, ready to negotiate", the Report concluded, "it is regretted that both Tribes do not embrace negotiation as a means of solving their complex differences." Morris recounted both Chairmen having met with a federal judge who suggested "binding arbitration", among other alternatives. "We, but not both Tribes, were persuaded" by the judge's recommendations.

"The Hopi (Tribe) does not recognize...the relocation problem." Despite Senator Barry Goldwater's reported objections to their findings, Morris and Clark presented rather strong conclusions: "time constraints demand that the responsible agencies of government now undertake whatever actions they deem appropriate to solve intertribal issues...Unless a comprehensive plan be thoughtfully developed and put in place, fundamental tribal disputes may persist for still another century."

[ed. note: on December 19 Congress approved continued funding for the relocation program, contingent on its "expectation that the Navajo and Hopi Charmen will continue to meet and seek to negotiate a comprehensive settlement as suggested in the Clark/Morris Report."]

## NEGOTIATIONS 1975/85: How They Fail

As the Reagan Administration found, the main obstacle to a peaceful solution of the relocation stalemate is the unwillingness of the Hopi Tribal Chairman to negotiate. Last August 21 Chairman Sidney dismissed Reagan's initiative, saying "the negotiations were in 1975." It is worth reconsidering the background of the 1975 negotiations.

While the final vote on the 1974 Relocation Act was lopsided, it had previously suffered a number of close calls. Several Congressmen, including Morris Udall (D-AZ), Henry Jackson (D-WA) and Lloyd Meeds (D-WA), were deeply troubled by the partition and relocation features of the proposed bill.

In order to soothe their liberal consciences a provision was added which provided "one last opportunity to resolve the dispute by direct agreement" during a 6 month mediation, with the mediation results referred to Arizona District Court for a final decision.

As a result, federal mediator William Simkin met with the two Tribes on February 6 and 7, 1975 [Reagan initiated his negotiation attempt on February 8, 1985], and formal mediation began in March. By August 4, 1975 the mediations had collapsed [August 21 for the 1985 negotiations], largely because the Hopi Tribe was refusing to participate further.

Under P.L. 93-531, it was only if the negotiation "failed" that partition and relocation might be imposed. In fact the 1975 proceeding did fail, but a closer look at the Mediator's Report shows that it never had a chance.

First the Mediator noted that the mediation was a "supplemental proceeding" to the 1962 Healing-Jones court decision. That decision had suggested that the Navajo and Hopi Tribes attempt joint use and administration of the contested area, hence the name "Joint Use Area" (JUA).

Simkin also stated that "it is clear that a 50-50 acreage partition is not mandatory on the Mediator...or on the Court." In other words he was free under the Act to recommend to the Court a settlement which did not partition the land or require relocation.

How did the negotiations proceed? "The Navajo made quite specific proposals in writing...In contrast it was the Hopi position that agreement on a partition line was a first and essential requirement, and that agreement on other issues should be deferred until the partition line had been established."

The 1975 Report describes several Navajo options: (1) a buy-out of the Hopi land claim, (2) Navajo purchase of additional off-reservation lands for the Hopi tribe, and (3) exchange of other Navajo lands. [1985 Morris/Clark Report: "the Navajo remain ready to negotiate for land exchange...those proposals were within the range of what we would have deemed adequate."]

Simkin also stated, "it is clear that the Navajo proposals are permissible under the law."

Nevertheless there was no agreement during Simkin's mediation, and he recommended a 50-50 partition, and relocation of the Navajo. Why? "The Mediator supported a 50-50 division for three reasons. First...the Hopi team [which included white Mormon attorneys John and Steve Boyden] would continue negotiations on no other basis. Secondly, although we believe that the Healing-Jones decision and P.L. 93-531 would permit...any of the Navajo alternatives, we also believe that a 50-50 division is the most logical...Finally, a 50-50 division (allows) precise computation." (emph. added)

[Again compare to Clark/Morris, 1985: "(the Navajo) proposals were within range of what we would have deemed to be adequate...(but) were never communicated to the Hopi as...we were advised that to submit such proposals would constitute an insult to the Hopi...The Hopi would not willingly surrender even one acre of the partitioned lands." (emph. added)]

What about the Hopi and Navajo Traditionals? Simkin gives them 2 paragraphs in his 70 page report:

> "The 'Unity Committee'...includes certain Hopi traditionalists...and certain individual Navajo...(their) announced objective...has been to attempt to prevent, by legal and other means, effectuation of P.L. 93-531...(they have) requested to sit in on the negotiations."

Simkin then states that the concerns of the traditionals "more appropriately should be addressed to the Tribal Councils." The traditionals were not to be allowed to be party to the settlement.

Simkin also noted that the Act did not provide nearly enough "additional lands" and recommended that Congress revise the Act to provide 520,000 acres for the estimated "3495 Navajo subject to relocation."

Is it surprising that Simkin's mediation "failed" ? Perhaps it was a success and the mediation's purpose was fulfilled: several liberal Democrats were able to turn their backs on a preordained victory for Peabody Coal.

Ten years later when Morris appeared to some observers to be spending too much time with the Navajo and Hopi traditionals, too much time in the Kivas and on the Mountain, Barry Goldwater demanded an accounting in order to put the mission back on track. In Goldwater's eyes the key actors in addition to Clark and Morris were Harrison Loesch and his partner Fred Craft. No Indians need apply and none were invited.

On rare occasion early in his administration Hopi Chairman Sidney showed signs of being willing to talk with the Navajo. Several observers have stated that Sidney was then directed by Boyden's partner John Paul Kennedy, now counsel for the Hopi Tribe, to get tough with the Navajo.

When will the Navajo and Hopi people themselves be allowed to work out a solution to the situation ?

# WHAT IS THE "NAVAJO - HOPI LAND DISPUTE"?

PEABODY COAL COMPANY

The most common answers to this question seem to be (a) it's a fight between Navajo and Hopi people over a piece of land, a fight they have been unable to work out over the past century, or (b) there is no dispute; it's all a scam to get at the coal and water.

If the first explanation sounds good to you, you might readily conclude that partition and relocation are harsh, but necessary. If you believe the second explanation, that it's all a scam, then by implication an awful lot of people are simple-minded dupes. Maybe, but it seems more likely that there is something to the dispute.

There is a Dispute

A dispute over what ? We are told "the land", and therefore (Solomon says) it must be divided. But the Southwest is a land of many disputes, and has been since the U.S. took it over in 1848. Any list of the top ten issues being disputed would include several of the following:

1. Grazing rights on public lands
2. Minerals rights on public lands
3. Resource exploitation vs. conservation, or environmentalists vs. the mines
4. Land title: White versus Red (and Brown)
5. Inter-basin water disputes:
   Upper Colorado River Basin versus Lower Basin;
   Colorado River Basin versus Rio Grande Basin;
   Colorado River Basin versus San Juan Basin
6. Four Corners states (Ut, Colo, Az) vs. California Colorado River Basin water
7. Water use: power plants, agriculture, industry, residential, livestock, subsistence
8. Traditionals versus Progressives (within Indian Tribes)
9. Land Title:Red vs. Red (Navajo vs. Hopi)

Readers are invited to add their own formulations of issues.

Then the "disputes" should be rated in terms of political importance. What concerns were foremost in congressional minds when the Relocation Act was passed ? Enjoy the exercise, but please consider these questions:

Examine which persons and entities were most involved in putting the Act together. You will find that the main actors, white attorneys, mostly Mormons, were participants in just about all the disputes except 1 and 9. Then ask yourself which dispute does the Act do the worst job of solving ? Answer: the supposed "Navajo-Hopi dispute", number 9.

Next ask yourself: what if the Navajo and Hopi really were at each others throats ? Would Congress spend hundreds of millions of dollars to settle an argument between Indians ? Not unless special interests applied pressure.

In the Southwest the keys to economic development are water, the power to move it and coal to generate that power. The Arizona economy is staked to the Central Arizona Project, which uses Black Mesa coal to pump the Colorado River to otherwise undevelopable areas throughout the State.

The traditional Indian people, a description which would seem to fit the majority of the Hopi people, and if not a majority of all the Navajo people, certainly a majority of the Navajo people living in the Joint Use Area, have no stake in "economic development" of Arizona.

The dispute addressed by the Act is between those who want to exploit the resources of the Colorado Plateau and those who want to protect the Plateau. This is a legitimate dispute, but it is NOT between Navajo and Hopi.

Why, then, do the two tribal chairmen seem to be actively engaged in a dispute with each other ? Because they are "progressive", pro-development politicians, fighting over the spoils that would remain after the liquidation of the lives of their traditional people. Their dispute is over royalties.

Last question: Is there any dispute between the average Navajo and Hopi on the Mesa ? Yes. There are the usual neighborly tensions between the Navajo and Hopi of the JUA. Those normal tensions have been exaggerated by pressure from the surrounding dominant white society, and the Act itself has generated tremendous additional stress. But does anybody really think that the purpose of the Relocation Act is to protect these people from each other?

P.L. 93-531 is a good old fashioned pork barrel, designed by some of the Four Corners' finest including Steiger, Fannin, Owens, Goldwater, Boyden, Loesch and the Brothers Udall.

There is nothing unusual about this, except that it is all being blamed on the Indians into whose lives and lands the consequences of the Act are being thrust.

(Answer: "(b) a scam to get at coal and water".)

# UDALL HEARINGS: NO OUTCOME

## INTERIOR COMMITTEE HEARS UDALL BILL

On May 8 the House Interior Committee, chaired by Arizona Representive Morris Udall, finally stepped back into the so-called "Navajo and Hopi land dispute" and held hearings on a proposed "compromise bill", previously introduced by Udall on February 27. The Interior Committee took no action, which was a victory of sorts, given this same committee's quick-axe job it performed on the White Earth Reservation earlier this year.

The bill has strong support, with qualifications, from the Navajo Tribe and has been frequently reported in the press as being widely supported by "the Navajo people". In sharp contrast to the Navajo Chairman's publicity campaign , however, the Navajo and Hopi traditional leadership came together at Big Mountain on April 26 and denounced the Udall bill, proclaimed their united resistance to Navajo relocation, and demanded repeal of the Relocation Act, P.L. 93-531.

The Navajo Chairman claims he received the endorsement of the Big Mountain community at a chapter meeting on February 15, carefully ignoring the often stated position of the people of Big Mountain that they are NOT represented in the chapter system. The Chairman has not gone to Big Mountain to discuss the bill.

Despite Big Mountain's clear opposition to the Udall bill, it will remain a focus of congressional debate until the resistance movement can bring about the introduction of a real repeal bill. There is therefore a need to understand it.

What is the Udall McCain Bill ?

First it repartitions 350,000 acres of the already partitioned Joint Use Area apparently leaving the Big Mountain area and several other areas under the governance of the Navajo tribe. About 1/3 of the lands previously partitioned to the Hopi Tribe would be "saved", the Hopi Tribe to be compensated with an equivalent amount of "new lands" which the Navajo Tribe had previously selected from outside both reservations. Second, the Navajo Tribe would pledge $300 million dollars of future coal royalties to the Hopi tribe, to be generated from its Black Mesa mine, and from planned new mining activities in the Bisti range around the Paragon ranch in New Mexico. Third, the Navajo tribe would assume financial responsibility for completing the relocation of the uprooted Navajo for the next 20 years, those expenses also to be paid by Navajo coal royalties. Some 60 families remaining on land stranferred to the Hopi Tribe would be given 160 acre allotments for use by them and their descendants. Fourth, the Navajo Tribe would be required to formally stipulate that the partition and removal was legal, fair and equitable. Fifth, the Congressional actions would be deemed as adequate exercise of U.S. trust responsibility, consistent with the plenary power doctrine of "Indian law." Other features include disolution of the Relocation Commission, termination of several lawsuits, and granting of right-of-way for a number of Navajo and Hopi Tribal projects. The Moencopi "land dispute" would be settled by transferring about 10% of the lands to the Hopi tribe.

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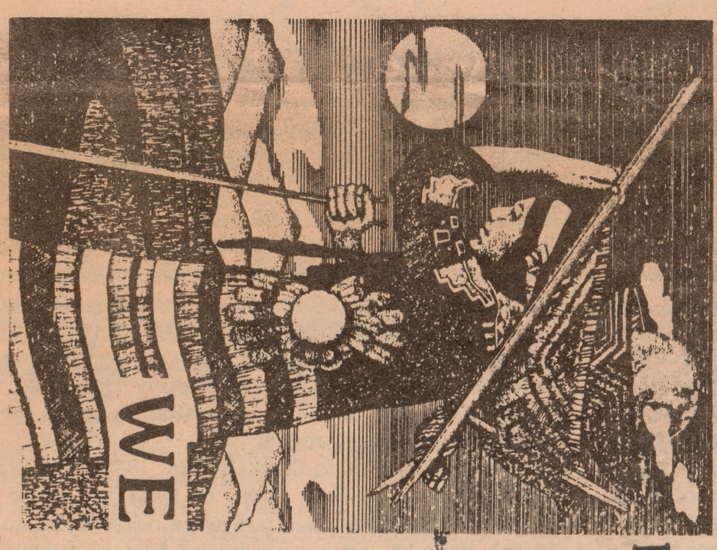

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